

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

It has been found necessary to postpone the first instalment of Mr. J. Chichester Hart's papers on the "Natural History in the Desert" until July. The work will be completed in about four instalments. Each number will be illustrated by a large coloured plate.

The two communications from the late General Gordon published in this number are merely, as will be seen, notes sent to the Secretary, and placed aside until they could be revised by the writer. Of late years he took a deep interest in the proceedings of the Society, though his own conclusions, as may be gathered from the papers here published, were based on other than purely scientific grounds. The theory put forward in the note on Golgotha has been further developed in Gordon's "Reflections in Palestine."

The Committee have to thank Mr. Laurence Oliphant for two important communications which will be found on pages 82 and 94. The other papers promised to the Society by a recent traveller have not yet reached us, but we shall almost certainly be able to produce them in July.

The following is the Balance Sheet for the year 1884:—

BALANCE SHEET.

	£	s.	d.	December 31st, 1884.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions, Donations, and Lecture returns..	3,709	4	6	Exploration	1,851	13	7
Loan	850	0	0	Maps and Memoirs ..	2,592	13	7
Maps and Memoirs ..	862	1	0	Salaries	373	15	6
Books	224	3	5	Rent	121	0	0
Photographs	9	5	3	Printers	504	3	1
Balance (<i>January 1st</i> , 1884)	172	5	8	Office expenses ..	48	12	5
				Photographs, cost of ..	11	12	8
				Postage and Parcels ..	74	5	10
				Balance	249	3	2
	£5,826	19	10		£5,826	19	10

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) WALTER MORRISON.

It will be seen that the expenditure includes the sum of £1,851 13s. 7d. due to exploration. This makes the total cost of the Geological Expedition about £2,300, part of which was included in the balance sheet of the preceding year. The sum of £2,592 13s. 7d. was expended on "Maps and Memoirs." Against this is the sum of £862 1s. received on that account, and the valuable property of the Great Map and the reduced modern map in the possession of the Society, besides the copies which remain of the "Survey of Western Palestine." Printing takes the large sum of £500, which includes the postage of the *Quarterly Statements* to subscribers. Management is an item which varies little from year to year. Including parcels and postage it amounted last year to £629 6s. 5d. The proportional table of expenditure is as follows:—

Exploration, nearly	..	..	33·21	per cent.
Maps and Memoirs	..	..	46·49	„
Printing ..	..	..	9·04	„
Management	..	..	11·26	„
				100·00

A considerable sum, about £750, still remains (March 25th) to be paid on account of the Maps and Memoirs, and the Society is further indebted in the amount of a loan of £850, the whole of which it is hoped to pay off before the end of the year.

The Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society have issued their report for the last year, in which it appears that they have now seventy-one members, and have issued two pilgrims' texts, viz., those of Antoninus Martyr and Sancta Paula. That of the Bordeaux Pilgrim is already translated and printed, and only awaits Sir Charles Wilson's notes. The Society has received permission of Count Riant to use the publications of the *Société de l'Orient Latin*. Four more publications may be expected in the course of the year.

The long-promised list of Old and New Testament names, with identifications, references, and notes, is nearly completed. It has been compiled by Mr. George Armstrong from the Bible Dictionary, the lists in Clarke's Bible Atlas, and Captain Conder's lists, and is especially prepared with a view to being a guide to the forthcoming maps covering the east as well as the west of the Jordan.

Professor Hull's book, called "Mount Seir," was issued on January 14th. Subscribers are allowed a reduction on the price, and can obtain it in the usual way, by application to the office, for 7s. 6d. post free. It contains, besides a popular account of the Expedition, which occupies twenty chapters out of twenty-two, a summary of Scientific Results, and a discussion on some of the more important of the sites visited. There is also appended a Geological Map, and an Appendix containing Major Kitchener's Report, and a paper by Mr. George Armstrong on the Wâdy Arabah. There are twenty-three illustrations from drawings and photographs made by the travellers during their work.

Those who are interested in the welfare of the modern inhabitants of Palestine, will be pleased to hear that the English Langue of the venerable Order of St. John has now established an Ophthalmic Hospital just outside

Jerusalem, where a duly qualified English surgeon, specially skilled in the treatment of the eye, is now resident. The local management is vested in a committee of British residents, Associates of the Order of St. John, under the presidency of the Consul, Mr. Noel Temple Moore, C.M.E. The English offices are at the Chancery, St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell.

The income of the Society, from September 26th to December 12th, 1884, inclusive, was—from subscriptions and donations £556 5s. 4d., from all sources £703 16s. 4d. The expenditure during the same period was £728 6s. 1d. On March 12th the balance in the Banks was £205 9s. 6d.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

The only authorised lecturers for the Society are—

- (1) The Rev. Henry Geary, Vicar of St. Thomas's, Portman Square. His lectures are on the following subjects :—
 The Survey of Western Palestine, as illustrating Bible History.
 Palestine East of the Jordan.
 The Jerusalem Excavations.
 A Restoration of Ancient Jerusalem. Illustrated by original photographs shown as "dissolving views."
- (2) The Rev. James King, Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick. His subjects are as follows :—
 The Survey of Western Palestine.
 Jerusalem.
 The Hittites.
 The Moabite Stone and other monuments.
- (3) The Rev. James Neil, formerly Incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem.

EDEN AND GOLGOTHA.

By GENERAL CHARLES GORDON, R.E.

I.

POSITION OF EDEN.

I HAVE formed a theory with respect to the position of Eden. I believe the Greek of the text respecting the parting of the main river of Eden into four other rivers can be read that four rivers united to form one great river.

In Genesis we have one river Euphrates given us : on it was Babylon. We have the Hiddekel, on which was Nineveh (*vide* Daniel), and which is the Tigris ; these two unite and come down the Persian Gulf. We need to identify the Pison and Gihon. The Pison is the Nile, its meaning is "overflowing," and it flowed into the Red Sea before the Flood ; it is connected with Egypt, which, like Nineveh and Babylon, oppressed Israel. The Blue Nile encompasses Havilah, where there is gold. Havilah was a grandson of Shem, his brothers were Ophir and Sheba, also connected with gold, and with Abyssinia ; they went forth by Mesha (? Mecca), they crossed the sea, for Solomon got his gold from Ophir by sea. Where is the Gihon ? There is the Brook Gihon south of Jerusalem, the Valley of Hinnom, where idolatrous practices went on ; it therefore is also a spot whence Israel was oppressed. On this brook is Jerusalem ; its flow, when it has any, is to the Dead Sea, its ravine is very deep, and could have been the bed of a river before the Flood. There is the difficulty of finding a ravine from the Dead Sea descending to the Gulf of Akabah through Wâdy Arabah, the Valley of Salt. By report, the watershed or flow of the Valley of Salt is towards the Dead Sea, and not towards the Gulf of Akabah. Is there any other ravine from the Dead Sea to the Red Sea by which the Gihon could meet the Nile in that Red Sea ?

Allowing for the moment that the Pison is the Nile, and Gihon is the Brook Gihon, that they flowed into the Red Sea, and through the Gate of the World, Bab el Mandeb, we find by taking off the soundings of the Indian Ocean, that there are two clefts of 1,000 fathoms deep, joining near Socotra, and then going south, gradually deepening till they reach 2,600 fathoms, some 100 or 200 miles west of Seychelles.

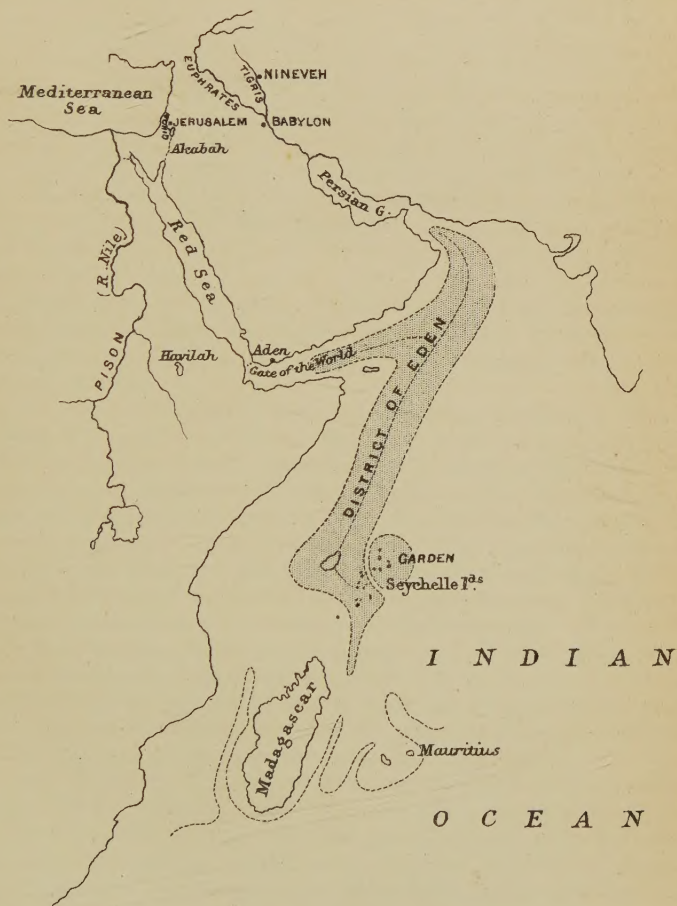
Seychelles is granitic, all other isles are volcanic.

Aden, query Eden.

Mussulman tradition places Eden at Ceylon.

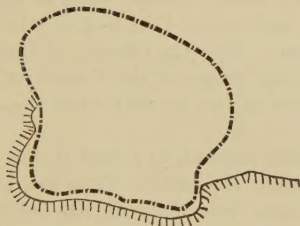
I do not go into the question whether or not the Tree of Knowledge is not the *Lodoicea seychellarium*, and the Tree of Life the *Artocarpus incisa*, though for myself I do not doubt it.

I was two years in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Euphrates, Arax, Phasis, &c. ; no flood could connect these rivers ;—floods do not alter the features of a country with respect to high ranges.



II.

GOLGOTHA.



1. I last wrote to you giving the four rivers of Eden, one of which was the Gihon on which Jerusalem was. I do not know if I then mentioned it was the Tyropœon Valley, which conclusion I came to ere I came to Palestine.

2. *Golgotha*. The morning after my arrival at Jerusalem I went to the Skull Hill, and felt convinced that it must be north of the Altar. Leviticus i, 11, says that the victims are to be slain on the side of the Altar northwards (literally to be slain slantwise or askew on the north of the Altar); if a particular direction was given by God about where the types were to be slain, it is a sure deduction that the prototype would be slain in some position as to the Altar: this the Skull Hill fulfils. With reference to the word "askew" or "aslant," we have the verse "all the day long have I stretched out my arms to a rebellious people" (Isa. lxxv, 2). Draw a line from the centre of the Sakhra to the centre of the Skull; draw a perpendicular to this line, at centre of skull; a cross on that line will embrace all the city and Mount of Olives, and be askew to the Altar.

The Latin Holy Sepulchre is west of the Altar, and therefore, unless the types are wrong, it should never have been taken as the site.

I pass by the fact of the tradition of Beth hat Selzileh, of the precipice, of the tradition of its being the place Jeremiah wrote the Lamentations (which describes the scenes enacted there nearly 600 years afterwards, "Is it nothing to thee, all ye that pass by" (Lam. i, 12), &c., or the particularly suitable entourage of the place, for these things may be fanciful. I also will not hold to the fact that in the twelfth century St. Stephen's Church was at the Damascus Gate, outside, and St. Stephen was stoned nine months after our Lord's Crucifixion, and that it is unlikely that the Jews would have had two places of execution in nine months.

2. And I will come to the more fanciful view, that the mention of the place of Skull in each four gospels is a call to attention. Wherever a mention of any particular is made frequently, we may rely there is something in it; if the skull is mentioned four times, one naturally looks

for the body, and if you take Warren's or others' contours with the earth or rubbish removed showing the natural state of the land, you cannot help seeing that there is a body, that Schick's conduit is the œsophagus, that the quarries are the chest, and if you are venturesome you will carry out the analogy further. You find also the verse (Ps. xlviii), "Zion, on the sides of the north;" the word "pleura," same as they pierced His *pleura*, and there came blood and water, God took a *pleuron* from the side of Adam, and made woman. Now the Church of Christ is made up of, or came from, His *pleura*, the stones of the Temple came from the quarries, from chest of figure, and so on; so that fixed the figure of body to the skull.

3. Then by Josephus's account, as I read it, the Tower Psephinus was on the rocky point opposite the skull. Titus had his headquarters at the slaughter-house, 2 furlongs from the wall, viz., 300 to 400 yards, near the corner (note that corner, for it is alluded to in the 400 cubits broken down by Jehoshaphat, king of Israel), and my placing of the walls and reading of Josephus would make his point of attack just where Schick's conduit enters the city east of Damascus Gate, or at the cisterns to east, where I think Agrippa's wall began. Mystically, the Roman Eagle should have gone at the Lamb of Zion by the throat, viz., Schick's conduit. However, I will not continue this, for if you please you can get the papers and plans from my brother. I would do them for you if you wish; I did them for Chaplin long ago. The camp of the Assyrians is the place where Nebuchadnezzar camped a month *after the fall of the city*, when he came to *burn the Temple*; it is this day which the Jews keep as the fast, not the day of *taking the city*.

3. Naturally, after discerning *the figure*, the question arose of Mount Zion, and of the boundaries; by studying the latter with the Septuagint there seemed no reason *by Scripture* to consider Ain Haud the *Enshemesh*. Septuagint has Beth Samos, and near Jebel el Tell is Kh. el Sama. Again, Gihon (being the Tyropeon) is to gush forth, and as the skull is the Altar, it is thence the two rivers, one to the Dead Sea, the other to the Mediterranean, are to come. At last Moses's blessing to Benjamin came in, "he shall rest between His arms," not his shoulders; so thus I brought the boundary up Gihon to Kh. el Sama.

4. Other reasons came to back this view,—

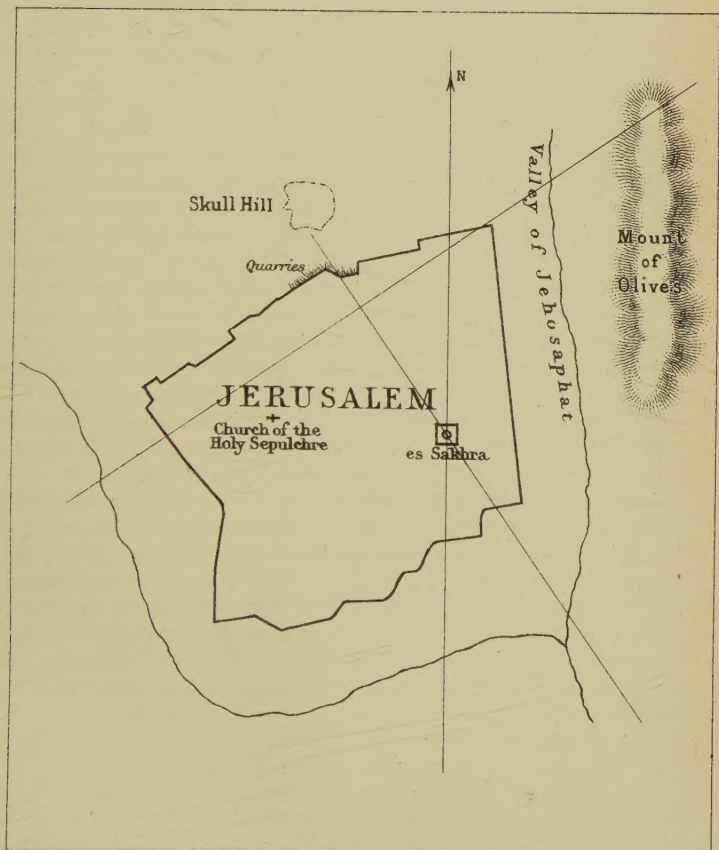
Nehemiah mentions town of Furnaces.

He also mentions throne of *Governor*.

Josephus mentions women's towers.

The word "furnace" is derived from *fornex*, thence the connection. The tent Cozbi and Zimri went into was a *furnace*. Josiah broke down the high places built by Manasseh near the Gate of *Governor*, which were, no doubt, these same *furnaces*. Herodias lived at Jaffa Gate, and even to this day there are *furnaces* there I should think, for the troops are there.

This led to looking up the history of the Levites, &c., in Judges, of Gibeon, of mouldy bread, Nob, Gibeah of Saul, &c., and the result is as



I have just noted, according to my ideas ; but it is a matter of perfect indifference to us all, for these sites are in each of us.

During these studies, the potters' field comes up, and also the pool where Abner and Joab met, the field of the treacherous ones, and my idea is that round about the Serpent's Pool is the Tophet, Aceldama, Potters' field ; that down the Valley of Hinnom is the Perez of David.

I will not bore you much longer than to say that, by my ideas,

	{	Kirjath-jearim
		Ramathaim-Zophim
		Armathaim
Kuryet el Eneb is		Ramah, one of them
		Place of Saul's anointing
		Arimathæa
	Emmaus	

and that Samuel was sacrificing to the Ark when Saul came to him.

Schick has been writing on these subjects for years, and he plaintively says, "but how *am I* possibly to advance other views now?" In reality, in writing on these sites, no man ought to draw any cheques on his imagination ; he ought to keep to the simple fact, and not prophesy or fill up gaps. If one wrote under cognomen *a*, and altered under cognomen *β* it would be all right ; as it is now, a man under his own name cannot go right about face all at once. The Ark was built at Abu Shusheh by Noah, and floated up to Baris ; only in A.D. 776 was it placed on Ararat, which is "*holy land*." God said, "Go to a mountain I will shew thee," a mountain already consecrated by the resting place of the Ark. Noah offered on the rock his sacrifice. Look at Genesis and you will see (Gen. xi, 1), after the Flood they journeyed *eastward* to Shinar ; you might go eastward from either Ararat or El Judi near Jesereb ebn Omar for ever before you reached Shinar. I will not bore you any longer, except to say that I think there are not many places far apart of interest in the Scripture way, and that these few are—

1. Nazareth and region of Tiberias.
2. Plain of Esdraelon.
3. Shechem.
4. Bethel.
5. Jerusalem.
6. Bethlehem
7. Hebron.
8. Kuryet el Eneb, Philistia.
9. Jericho, Gilgal, Ammon and Moab, Dead Sea, Valley of Arabah.

C. G.

EXPLORATIONS NORTH-EAST OF LAKE TIBERIAS,
AND IN JAULAN.

BY LAURENCE OLIPHANT.

HAIFA, 30th January.

THE examination of the country to the east of the Jordan is, under existing conditions, attended with so much difficulty that I was glad to seize an opportunity which offered a few weeks ago to pay a visit to the northern and eastern shores of the Lake of Tiberias, and penetrate a short distance into Jaulan, with the view of visiting certain localities, where I had reason to believe that some ruins existed which had hitherto escaped observation. I was unfortunately prevented by circumstances from devoting to them the time and labour which they deserved, and was compelled, in more than one instance, to hurry past places where it would have been interesting to linger, with the mental reservation that I would endeavour to return, at some future time, for a more detailed examination.

I commenced my investigations immediately on crossing the Jordan, at the point of its debouchure into the lake. Here, at a distance of half a mile east from its mouth, are situated the ruins of El Araj, which consists of foundations of old walls, and blocks of basaltic stone, cut and uncut, which have been used for building purposes. The ruins cover a limited area. A little over a mile north of El Araj there rises from the fertile plain of El Batihah a mound strewn with blocks of stone, and remains which cover a considerable area. This is Et Tell, a spot which it has been sought by more than one traveller to identify with Bethsaida Julias. I will not here enter into the much vexed question of whether there were two Bethsaidas, as insisted upon by Reland and many others, or only one; or whether "the desert place apart," upon which was performed the miracle of the five loaves and the two fishes, was on a desolate spur of the range immediately to the north of this Tell, which would necessitate two Bethsaidas, or whether it was not, as Dr. Thomson supposes, at the north-east corner of the Lake on the shoulder overhanging Mesadiyeh, upon which assumption he constructs a theory which would involve only one; or whether, as suggested by Captain Conder, the Sinaitic Manuscript is right in omitting the definition (Luke ix, 10) of the desert where the 5,000 were fed, as "belonging to the city called Bethsaida," in which case the necessity for a second city of that name ceases to exist, and the miracle may have been performed in the plain at the south-east of the Lake. It is possible that excavations at Et Tell might enable us to decide positively whether it is the site of Bethsaida Julias, which we know was in this vicinity. A small native village has been built among the ruins, which do not at present afford to the passing traveller any indications of former magnificence; but I was unable at the time to examine them, as I was desirous of pushing on without delay to a spot where I was informed by a Bedouin sheikh who accompanied me from Araj that the fellahin, in the course of getting out stone for constructing a small village last summer, had laid

SKETCH MAP
OF
PART OF THE JAULAN DISTRICT
E. OF SEA OF GALILEE.



Scale of Miles
1 2 3 4 5

bare some stones on which were carvings and pictorial representations. After following the course of the Jordan, on its east bank, for another mile, we reached a spot on the barren slope of a hill a few hundred yards from the river, where some native huts had been recently built, and where large cut stones, carved cornices, capitals, and fragments of columns were strewn in profusion, while from the midst of them rose the walls of what appears to have been a synagogue; owing, however, to a later superstructure having evidently been reared upon the original foundation, I feel somewhat diffident in pronouncing upon this point decidedly. I will, however, state my reasons for coming to this conclusion, while the accompanying

sketches of the ornamentation I found here may enable others more competent to form an opinion than myself to judge of their origin. The dimensions and ground plan of the building with the columns still *in situ* closely resembled those of the small synagogue at Kefr Birim. The length was 45 feet, the breadth 33

feet. The building had an east and west orientation, and the door was in the centre of the wall on the western side. This does not, so far as I know, occur in the case of any synagogue hitherto found, but it was doubtless due to the necessities of the case, as the site for the building was excavated from the hill-side, the floor at the east end being about 9 feet below the surface of the earth at the back of the wall, while the slope of the hill would have made it inconvenient to place the door, as usual, on the south side. A more serious objection to this being a synagogue lies in the fact that the stones were set in mortar, which does not occur in the case of other synagogues; but there were indications to show that these walls had been erected upon older foundations. They were now standing to a height of 8 feet. There were no door-posts or lintel to the entrance. The floor, which was thickly strewn with building stones, fragments of columns, and of carved cornices and capitals, was below the level of the ground, and was reached by a descent of two steps, while opposite, running along the whole length of the eastern side, were two benches or steps, the face of the upper one decorated with a thin scroll of ornamental tracery; these may have served for seats. The depressed floor and

stone benches are both features which occur in the synagogue at Irbid. Upon the upper bench stood the fragments of two columns about 4 feet in

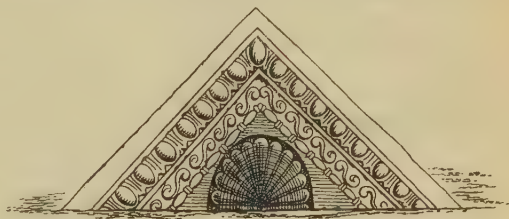
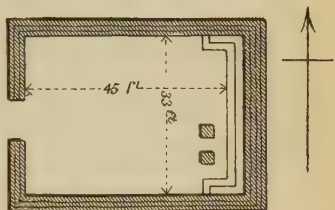


FIG. 4.

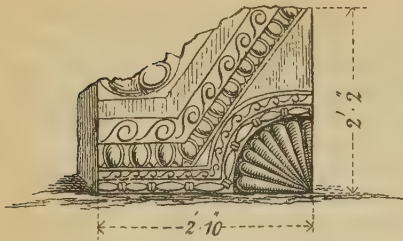


FIG. 5.

the floor. These blocks averaged 2 feet 6 inches by 18 inches. The capitals of the columns were in Corinthian style, 2 feet 3 inches in height, and consisted of a double row of leaves, which differed somewhat from the usual acanthus, apparently of a later or more composite order. The ornamentation and character of the niches (see figs. 4 and 5) so closely resembled those found at the synagogue at Kerazeh and elsewhere, being of the same florid and somewhat debased type, that they seemed to me to set at rest the question of the original character of this building, though it may subsequently have been diverted to other uses. Time did not allow me to do more than make rough drawings of the architecture, but I trust they are

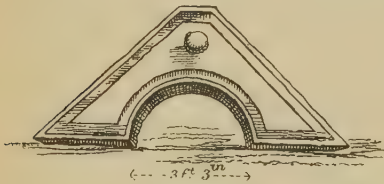


FIG. 1.

two small semi-attached fluted columns with Doric capitals, almost exactly similar to the one found at Irbid. Also one cut into a round arch, which

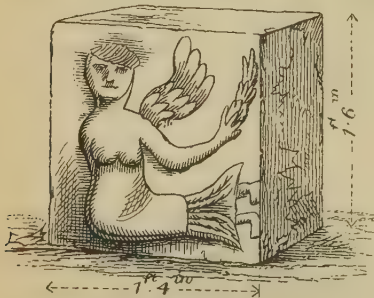


FIG. 2.

height, and 1 foot 2 inches in diameter. They were evidently not *in situ*, being without pedestals, and I can only account for their being in their present position by the supposition that they had been placed there recently. The other two appeared to be *in situ*, but their bases were much hidden by the blocks of stone heaped on

sufficient to enable a comparison to be made between them and the engravings in the "Memoirs." If I am right in my conjecture, this synagogue would probably date from about the second century of the Christian era. I also found a stone which consisted of the upper portion of

may have been placed over the lintel on the plan of the arch on the lintel over the entrance to the great synagogue at Kefr Birim. It measured 39 inches across the base of the arch (fig. 1). A most interesting object was a winged female figure, holding what was apparently a sheaf (fig. 2). The ornamentation of the cornice does not resemble any which I have observed either in the "Memoirs" or elsewhere, and is not unlike the so-called egg and dart pattern

(fig. 3). Other specimens of the ornamentation are seen in fig. 7. I have

not been able to form any conjecture which should identify this most interesting spot with any Biblical or historical locality. Its modern name is Ed-Dikkih, meaning platform, a name not inappropriate to its position. It is possible that during the next dry season the natives may continue their excavations, as stones are needed. I have

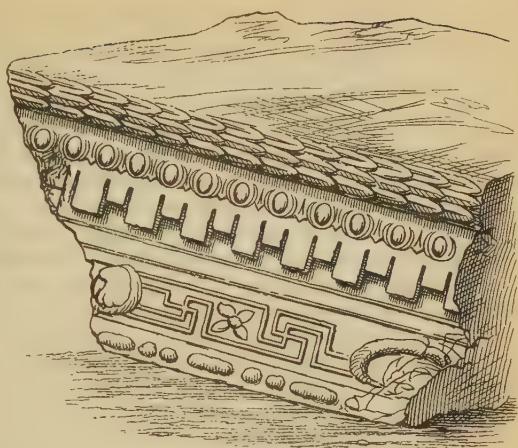


FIG. 3.

urgently impressed upon them not to deface or destroy any remains that may be unearthed; but they unfortunately watched my proceedings with an uneasiness and suspicion which I am afraid a gratuity failed altogether to dispel.

We now pursued an almost easterly direction along the lower flank of the range which



FIG. 7.

rose abruptly on our left, and in a mile and a half reached a spring and the remains of a small ruin called Umm el Araj. There seemed, however, to have been only two or three houses here, and finding nothing of interest we pushed on, and reached in half a mile more the ruins of Elahseniyeh. Here again I was fortunate in coming upon remains which have been exposed to view for the first time by the natives this year.

The portion excavated was not so extensive, nor did it reveal so much that was interesting, as Ed-Dikkih, but the area covered with old ruin was greater, and it was in ancient times probably the centre of a larger population. The character of the remains now exposed to view is very difficult to determine, owing to the confusion which has been created by their representing two periods, the building of the later having apparently been placed diagonally on the one that preceded it. They were situated upon a terrace of solid masonry about 5 feet high, now strewn with building stones. The upper or more recent chamber measured 20 feet across one way, but there was nothing to determine its length, no walls having been left standing; the dimension in one direction, however, could be gathered from the cement floor which still remained, a considerable portion of which was visible at a depth of 18 inches below the surface

of the earth. There appeared, 18 inches below it, a floor of solid stone, and this was evidently a portion of a building of some size, to judge from the blocks of stone which apparently were the foundations for the pedestals of columns. These consisted of five cubes of stone, each 2 feet every way, and 6 feet apart. As the stone floor on which they stood was 3 feet below the surface of the ground, the upper surface was 1 foot below it, and there may therefore have been more in continuation of the line in which they were, which the excavations of the villagers had not revealed. They ran north and south, and diagonally to the upper flooring of cement. There were some fragments of columns, pedestals, and carved cornices and capitals lying among the ruins of the vicinity, but they were much broken, and not sufficiently noteworthy to stop to sketch.

I had, unfortunately, no time to carry out my original intention of following up the Wâdy Ed Dâlieh, two miles higher to Elyahudiyeh, where ruins are reported to exist, but I was assured by the sheikh that they contained no remains such as I had seen at Ed-Dikkih and Elahseniyeh, so I crossed the plain back to the coast where the ruins of Mesadiyeh still remain to suggest that the similarity of their name to that of Bethsaida may furnish a clue to the identification with them of that town. They contain nothing of interest however, without excavation ; but enough remains to show that the head of the Lake must in old times have been a great centre of population, since the towns near it are all from one to two miles apart, and I have heard of more ruins in the neighbourhood, which I hope at some future time to have an opportunity of examining.

As some confusion exists in all the maps to which I have had any access in the nomenclature of the five wâdies which intersect the country between the Jordan and the Wâdy es Samak, I have been very particular in obtaining the names as accurately as I could from the best native sources. Of these the Wâdy Jeramâya is the most wild and inaccessible, and except for the sportsman—it affords excellent cover for the large game which are said to abound in it—would probably not repay examination ; the same cannot be said of the other wâdies, in which, especially near their heads, I have reason to believe some ruins are to be found.

Following the Lake shore, we passed at the mouth of the Wâdy Ejgayif the ruins of Akib ; these consist of nothing but heaps of basaltic stones. There is near here a spot marked “ruins” in some maps, and called Dukah ; they are also mentioned by more than one traveller. I found on inquiry, however, that a projecting cliff near 'Akib was called the Dukah Kefr 'Akib, or the precipice of 'Akib, and this has doubtless given rise to the confusion. A mile and a half beyond 'Akib we turned up the great wâdy of Es Samak. It is up this fertile valley, watered by a perennial stream, and which is in places two miles wide, and about seven miles in its greatest length, that it is proposed to carry the projected railway from Haifa to Damascus, as it affords an easy gradient from the depressed shores of Lake Tiberias to the elevated plateau of Jaulan ; the rise in that distance being a little over 2,000 feet. As we ascend, I observe that only quite the lower strata are of limestone ; all the rest is basaltic, and this formation is of vast

thickness. The whole of Jaulan is indeed an immense volcanic field, consisting of irregular heaps of amorphous lava and disintegrating scorïæ, with mounds of globular basalt.

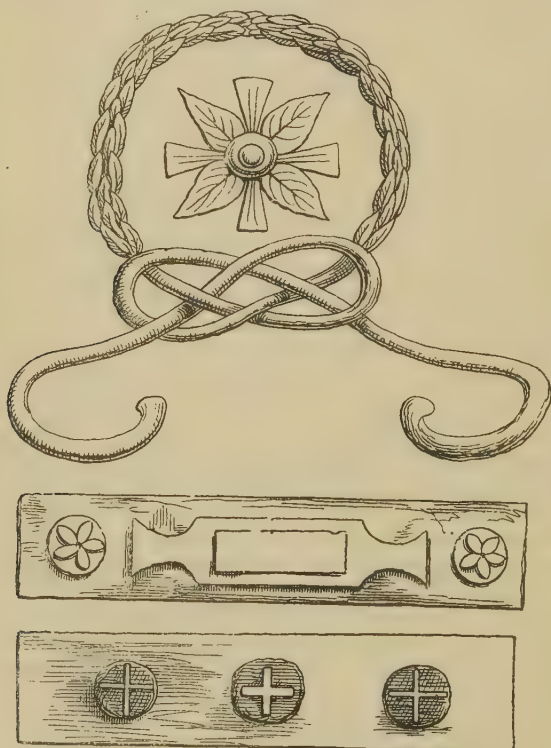
After ascending the wâdy for three miles we reached, a little below the margin of the plateau on the right side, the ruins of El 'Adeseh, but it happened to be so dark at the time that I could not distinguish more than heaps of stones, and I had no opportunity of returning to it.

The country is very sparsely peopled in the district of Jaulan in which we now were, one of the largest villages being that of El 'Al, built on the site of an ancient ruin ; but the place has been so much built over that little can be seen, though in the walls and yards of the houses are many vestiges of antiquity. In the stable of the house in which I lodged was a column *in situ* standing to a height of 6 feet, and in the yard a draped female statue, life size, in three pieces. The feet, which as far as I could judge were on a pedestal *in situ*, were partially covered with earth ; the rest of the figure, which had been separated from them at the ankles, was lying on the ground ; the head had also been separated from the body ; but each of the pieces was in good preservation. The left arm clasped what appeared to be a quiver, from which I gathered that the statue was one to Diana. An inscription would probably be found on the pedestal settling this question, but circumstances prevented my excavating sufficiently to find out whether this was the case.

My objective point was now Khisfin, a village lying five miles distant in a north-easterly direction, which has played so important a part in the history of the country that I was extremely anxious to investigate the ruins which exist there, and which have never been the subject of examination. After riding for an hour we came to the ruins of Nab, situated on a small mound. They consist of blocks of basalt building stone, some traces of foundations, some fragments of columns and capitals, and a tank, dry at the time of my visit, but which evidently holds water for some portion of the year ; it had apparently been much deeper at a former period, only the two upper courses of masonry being now visible. It was oval in shape, and measured about 60 yards by 30. A little off the road to the right stands a large tree on a mound which is a conspicuous object on the vast plain, and is called Ez Zeitîmi, or the hill of the olive-tree. In half-an-hour more we reached Khisfin, which is a large village for this part of the country, the houses constructed entirely of the hewn stones which here cover a greater area than any ruins which I have hitherto visited in this neighbourhood.

The earliest notice which I have been able to obtain of Khisfin is that of Yakubi, about 900 A.D. He mentions it as one of the chief towns of "the Province of the Jordan," Syria being divided in his day into three provinces, viz. : the Province of Damascus, the Province of the Jordan, and the Province of Palestine. Yakub in the thirteenth century mentions it as a town of the Hauran district below Nawa, on the Damascus road, between Nawa and the Jordan. Khisfin was doubtless at one time a fortress of the Saracens, as it is further mentioned as the place to which Al Melek

al 'Adil (Saladin's son and successor) fled after having been routed at the battle of Baisân by the Crusaders, who advanced upon him from Acre. As it is mentioned as being one of the chief towns of the province so long ago as 900 A.D., it is probable that its importance dates from a much older period, as indeed was indicated by some of the ornamentation which I found there. That it must also have been an important crusading stronghold is evident from the leading characteristics of the remains, as they now appear, and of the ornamentation, of which I give specimen sketches.



The walls of the principal fort now standing measure 68 yards one way, by 54 the other. They are 9 feet in thickness, and are eight courses of stone in height, the stones from 1 foot to 1 foot 6 inches square, but some are much larger. Within the fort are the traces of a second or inner wall forming a sort of keep in the centre, but the whole area is so encumbered with ruin that it would require more time than I was able to give to it to make accurate measurements, or a plan of the building. The village had almost the appearance of a quarry, so thickly piled were the blocks of hewn stone which enclosed the courtyards and formed the walls of the houses, while they were strewn thickly or stacked in heaps over all the neigh-

ouring fields. The lintels of the doors consisted frequently of large stones, some of which possibly had served the same purpose in old times, on which were tablets, rosettes, crosses, bosses, and other crusading devices.

I now proceeded in a westerly direction, and in two miles reached the ruins of Esfera, a mound covered with the usual hewn basaltic stones, and with traces of foundations. Two miles further on was the conspicuous hill of Tell el Muntar, which is also strewn with ruins of the same character; but at neither place were the remains of any marked interest;—they all indicated, however, the presence in ancient times of a large population in this section of country. Just to the south of Tell el Muntar we came upon a dolmen field—I counted twenty grouped in a comparatively limited area, averaging perhaps a hundred yards apart. Some were composed of three side stones with a covering slab, and in most cases were “free standing.” In others the superincumbent slab rested upon four uprights, and in others upon heaps of large blocks of stone. In no case did I observe the covering slabs to be so large as I have seen them elsewhere, probably owing to the weight of the basalt of which they were composed; but circumstances prevented my giving these interesting monuments upon this occasion the attention they deserved, and I was compelled to be satisfied with having discovered their locality. In support of Captain Conder’s theory it may be interesting to note that they were situated near water, as I shall presently show, and upon the verge of the precipitous ledge of rock which here forms the eastern cliff of one of the branches of the Wâdy es Samak, from which a magnificent view is obtained. The plateau here forms a promontory which splits the wâdy, and at its southern extremity is situated the old stronghold of the Crusaders, called the Kasr Berdauif, or Baldwin’s Castle. I saw the ruin from a distance, but was unable to visit it on this occasion. This I the less regretted as it has already been examined, and the small crumbling ruin which remains offers nothing of interest. On the other hand, I was impatient to reach a ruin hitherto unknown, and which was situated directly beneath the upper ledge of rocky cliff down which we were now leading our horses at no little peril to life and limb. After descending abruptly about 500 feet we came to a broad shelf, or small cultivated plateau, beyond the edge of which there was another steep descent to the bottom of the wâdy. It was upon this shelf that the ruins of Umm el Kanatar, or the “Place of Arches,” is situated. It may have derived its name from the first object which met our view, as, turning sharp to the right under the impending cliff down which we had just descended, we came upon a most singular and most picturesque spot. Here were two large arches, one partially ruined, but the traces of which were still plainly visible projecting from the rock against which it had been built, the other in a perfect state of preservation. This one measured 23 feet in breadth, 6 feet 6 inches in depth, and 16 feet in height. The ruined one was probably of the same dimensions, but as it was partially broken away there was no means of accurately judging of it. They had been built over a crystal spring, the waters of which still filled the small tank 23 feet long and 6 feet wide, with a depth of 2 feet of water, under the perfect arch, and

contained many small fish. It apparently escaped by an underground channel. Over the centre of the arch was a large slab of stone, upon

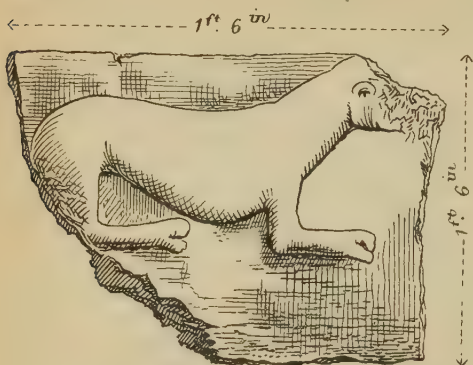


FIG. 1.

which had been an inscription now too effaced to be legible, and as it was 16 feet over head I had no means of examining it closely. At a slab at the side of the spring was a stone on which was the carved figure of a lion (fig. 1), and in front the wide-spreading arms of a magnificent old tree offered a grateful shade. At the time of year at which

I visited these springs,

however, I was not in a position to appreciate its charms; a bitterly cold wind, accompanied by sleet, was blowing, and I had just before arriving at the dolmen field undergone an experience which made the task of a minute examination of ruins or dolmens in an easterly gale of wind unpleasant in

the highest degree. When allowing my horse to drink at what seemed a puddle on the plateau, he had made a step forward and plunged head foremost down what turned out to be an overflowed well, with me on his back. We had some difficulty in extricating ourselves, but the severity of the cold wind was so much intensified by my drenched condition, that, not being in my good health otherwise at the time, I was compelled to hurry over these ruins. They are situated about fifty yards from the spring to the north, and consist of ruined walls enclosing an area apparently as nearly as possible of the same dimensions as the synagogue at Ed-Dikkih, but the traces of the western wall were concealed by such piles of large blocks of building stones that it was impossible to determine them. The southern wall was standing to a height of about 7 feet, and consisted of three courses of stone averaging a little over 2 feet each in

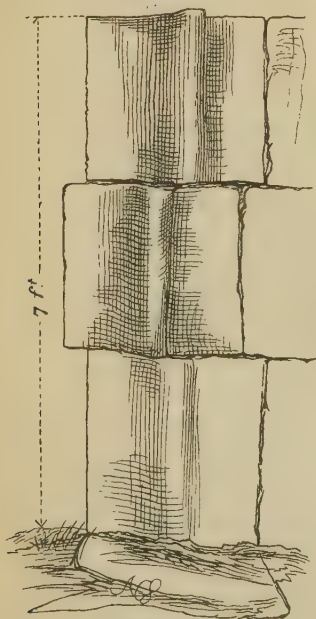


FIG. 2.

height, by about 2 feet 6 inches in breadth. The door was situated 15 feet from the south-east angle of the wall, and was 4 feet 9 inches in width ; the stones forming the door-post were slightly carved into a plain moulding (fig. 2). On entering, the area presented a mass of stone *débris*, and columns, and pieces of carving, tossed about in the wildest confusion ; six columns from 10 to 12 feet in height rose above the piles of stone at every angle, as though they had been partially overturned by an earthquake ; the shaken condition of one of the stones which formed the door-post, and which projected from the others, as well as the general aspect of such of the ruin as was still standing, confirmed my impression that the building had been destroyed by a convulsion of nature. It was difficult under the circumstances to determine the true position of the columns, or the exact plan of the building ; but the character of the fragments of ornamentation which still remained, the fact that the columns were all within the enclosure of the building, that the walls were without cement, the position of the door, and the moulding of the door-posts, all rather lead me to the same conclusion with respect to this building which I have arrived at in the case of Ed-Dikkih, and to regard it as having been formerly a synagogue. There was one stone on which was carved the representation of an eagle (fig. 3), a fragment of egg and dart cornice, closely resembling the one at Ed-Dikkih, a large triangular slab cut in the shape of an arch and highly ornamented, measuring 3 feet 6 inches along the base line, and 5 feet 8 inches between the two extremities, and which I assume to have been placed on the lintel of the main entrance (fig. 4) ; and there were fragments of Corinthian capitals.

It is highly probable that a careful investigation of these stones would reveal inscriptions which would throw more light on this interesting ruin than, during my hurried inspection

of them, I was in a position to obtain. I send these notes simply as a description of what I was able to observe, under circumstances by no means favourable to minute investigation ; but it is not impossible that I may be able to revisit this part of the country and supplement this paper with more details of the ruins which are noticed in it, as well as

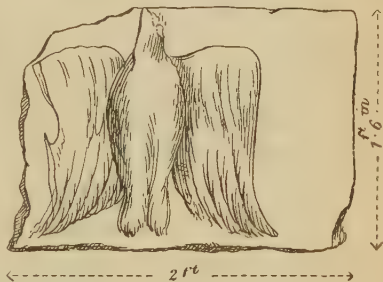


FIG. 3.

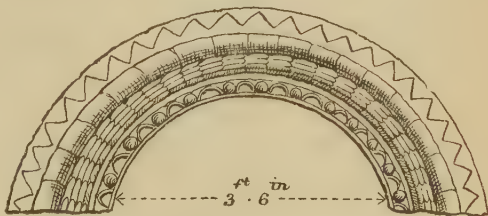


FIG. 4.

to look for others of the position of which I have received some information.

On my return to Tiberias, a Jew came to tell me that he knew a house which contained a stone upon which there was an inscription. I found it in the floor of a tumble-down dwelling inhabited by an old Jewish woman. As it was too begrimed with dirt to make anything of, I tempted the old woman with a bribe to let me take it up and carry it off, promising to return it. The inscription turned out to be in Greek characters, and as it may have escaped the attention of former travellers, a squeeze of it is forwarded herewith. I also annex the best copy I have been able to make, in case the squeeze does not arrive in good condition.

ΥΠΕΡΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ Δ
 ΟΥΗΜΩΝ ΣΙΡΙΚΙΟΝ
 ΝΑΠΑΙΣΑΜΣΝΟΙΗΜΙ
 ΟΙΘΡΕΒΟΙΣ ΟΥΑΝΗΓΙΡΑΜΘ

I was also taken by a Jew to look at a stone built into the back wall of the synagogue, on which was an inscription. He told me that he had seen some gentlemen take a squeeze of this, and I therefore only took a hasty copy, thinking it probable that it would be found in the "Memoirs." As however, this is not the case, I presume it must have attracted the notice of some more recent explorers. The following is my copy:—

ΟΥΑΓ
 ΤΑ'ΕΤΗ 'ΟΕ
 ΩΜΗΝΑΔΕΝ
 ΙΝΖΗCΑCΑΝ
 ΚΒΝΥΜΦΗΝ

I am indebted to my companion, Mr. Guy Le Strange, for the list of the Arab names, which I append, of the places taken down from the natives on this trip, with their significations.

LIST OF NAMES OF PLACES.

1. El-'Adesi, for El-'Adeseh, العدسه, "the lentil."

In Palestine, concrete of small pebbles used for floors, from its resembling lentils, is known as "El-'Adesi."

2. El-Ahsâninyeh, the vulgar form of El-hassâniyyeh, الحسانية, "Belonging to Hassân," p.n.

3. 'Ain Esfera, probably for 'Ain Eṣo-Sḡairah, عين الصغيرة, "the whistling spring."

4. El-'Akib, العقيب, "the term."

5. El 'Âl الاعال, "the high."

6. El-'Araj, الاعرج, "the lame."

7. El Batihah, البطيحة, "the swamp."

8. Ed-Dikkih, الدكة, "the platform."

9. Kasr Berdawil, قصر برداويل, "Baldwin's Castle."

10. Kersa, كرسى, (?) "the seat."

11. Khisfîn, خفسين, p.n.

12. Mes'adiyyeh, مصعدية, "the place of ascending."

13. Nâb, ناب, "the eye-tooth."

14. Et-Tell, التل, "the hill."

15. Tell el Montar, تل المنظر, "the hill of the watch-tower."

16. Tell ez-Zeitûnih, تل الزيتون, "the hill of the olive-tree."

17. Umm el 'Ajâj, ام العجاج, "the place of whirl-winds" or "battles."

18. Umm el Kenâtir, ام القناطر, "the place of arches."

19. Wâdi ed Dâlieh, وادى الدالية, "the gorge of the vine tendril."

20. Wâdi Ejgayif, for Wâdi esh-Shakayyif, وادى الشقيف, "the gorge of the little boulder." Shakayyif, or Shagayyif, for the Bedouins change the dotted K into G, is the diminutive of "Shakîf," meaning a "fragment" or "boulder" in the colloquial dialect.

21. Wâdi Jermâyya, وادى جرماية, p.n.

22. Wâdi es Saffah, وادى الصفاح, "the gorge of the slayer."

23. Wâdi es Samak, وادى السمك, "the fish's valley."

24. Wâdi Shebîb, وادى شبيب, p.n.

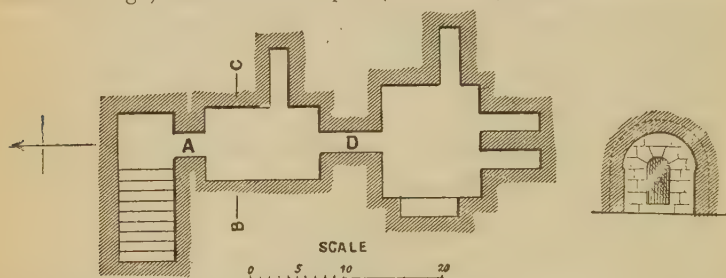
25. El-Yahûdiyyeh, اليهودية, "the place belonging to the Jews."

NOTES ON A TOMB OPENED AT JEBATA, AND ON
MONUMENTS FOUND AT NABLOUS.

BY LAURENCE OLIPHANT.

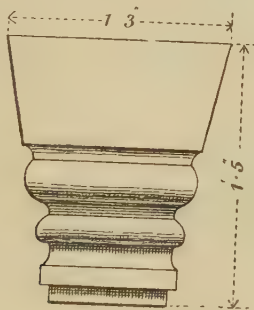
HAIFA, 21st January, 1885.

HAVING received intelligence from a native that the villagers of Jebata (Sheet 5, M. 2) while excavating for stone for their building operations, had unearthed what he termed a subterranean abode, but which I conjectured to be a tomb, I proceeded to that place in order to examine it. The sheikh and most of the villagers accompanied me to the spot; here they had laid bare a flight of nine stone steps leading down to an open court about 6 feet square—the niches formed of cemented masonry, the stones averaging 2 feet by 18 inches, but in some instances exceeding those dimensions. The height from the *débris* which had accumulated on the floor to the top of the masonry was about 11 feet, above which were 2 feet of soil. From this open court a passage 3 feet long, 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 5 feet high, marked A in the plan (Section BC), led to a chamber 14 feet



long, 8 feet broad, and 8 feet 6 inches high, the walls consisting of plain chiselled stones set with mortar in courses of from 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches in height. This chamber differs from the very few hitherto discovered in Palestine, and which seem confined to Galilee, in that the stones are set in mortar. On the left of the chamber was a single *koka*, which had been a good deal destroyed by the recent excavations of the villagers, but the chamber itself was in perfect order, and in fact in such good condition that it was difficult to realise that it was an ancient construction. The roof was vaulted, and of solid masonry. In the centre of the east wall was an entrance, D, exactly corresponding to the one marked A, excepting that the passage was 7 feet 6 inches in length. It led into a chamber hewn out of the solid rock, 12 feet by 10 feet 6 inches and 6 feet 6 inches in height; this contained three *kokim* and a *loculus* under an *arcosolium*, but the side of the *loculus*, as well as those of the *kokim*, had been much injured. The villagers told us that they had found bones in the *loculus*, and some fragments of pottery in this chamber. Not far from these tombs was another similar excavation, the entrance to which presented the appearance of that to an ordinary cave; but on entering it we found ourselves in

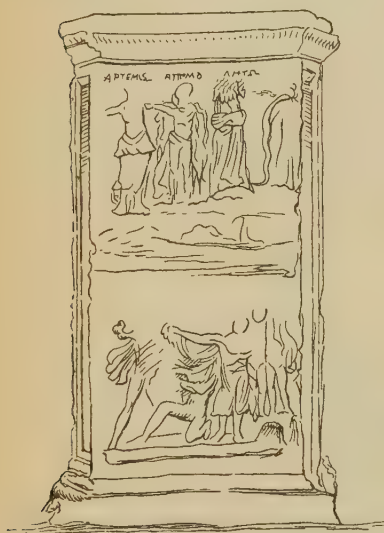
a small circular rock-hewn chamber, the floor so covered with rubble that it was not possible to stand upright. In the centre of the roof was an aperture 18 inches square, carefully hewn, and from it led a passage of masonry, the stones, also set in mortar, 2 feet 6 inches broad, and about 5 feet to the point where it was completely choked with earth; had we been able to spare the time to excavate we should have found probably that it led into a tomb. The entrance to this passage was almost completely blocked by the handsome capital of an Ionic column, the column itself 18 inches in diameter. On further examining the stones strewn in the vicinity, and some of which we were told by the natives they had unearthed, we found one on which was carved a seven-branched candlestick, one which may have served as a keystone, a sarcophagus, several fragments of columns, and a monolith standing 10 feet from the *débris* at its base, with grooves and lots similar to others which I have seen at Dubil on Carmel, but taller. I can only imagine it to have formed part of some olive-pressing machinery. In the neighbouring rocks were vats and winepresses. It is not unlikely



that next summer the natives will undertake further quarrying operations, when new discoveries may be brought to light, the more especially as all the existing indications go to show that Jebata, the ancient Gabatha, must formerly have been a place of some importance.

I have been fortunate in obtaining a glimpse of some monuments recently discovered during some municipal improvements now in progress at Nablous, which are destined for the Museum at Constantinople, and of which I send you such hurried and imperfect sketches as I was able to take, with copies of inscriptions. They were in such positions that it was extremely difficult to take squeezes, nor were the conditions propitious for my doing so. The one which I forward was of an inscription much defaced, on which I can only make out the words **ΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΠΟΔ**, but perhaps others may be more successful. Many of the letters in the other inscriptions were so much effaced as to be rendered doubtful, and I have left them imperfect; but it will not be difficult, with more time than I have been able to give to them, to make the necessary corrections. The monuments which I have seen consist of two statues, one of a draped male

figure, life size ; the head, right arm, and feet were missing. The other was a smaller draped male figure, the head and feet of which were also missing. The most interesting object was a triangular pedestal, 40 inches high, with slightly curved sides 22 inches long, and squared angles 8 inches across. The three sides contained six tableaux *in basso relievo*, one of them a good deal mutilated, representing, amongst others, incidents in the life and labours of Hercules, in whose honour possibly the statue which once stood upon the pedestal was erected. The first tableau represents a figure in a



(chariot struggling apparently with a hydra. Above this, on the upper moulding of the cornice, was the inscription (marked A)—

ΝΙΟΣΘΗΚΕΝΑΤΘΙΔΟΣΕΚ ΣΑΣ
ΝΕΚΕΝΕΝΤΘΥΠΟΛΕΣΣΙΝΑΡΙΣ ΣΚΕΝΑΠΑΣΙΝ

Below this (marked B) was the following :—

ΚΑΛΛΕΙΚΛΙΜΕΙΦΘΤΙ- -ΚΑΙΧΑΡΙΣΙΝΠΡΟΦΕΡΟΝ

and below this (C)—

ΤΟΥΙΩΓ·ΚΑΙ·ΛΓΟΝΙΦΟΙ- -ΛΙΑΜΕΤΑΙ·ΚΑΙ·ΙΗΘΕΝ

The lower section represented three draped figures standing : on their right a nude male figure standing ; at their feet a prostrate nude male figure ; above them was the inscription (D)—

ΤΟΝΑΧΕΛΩΝ

The upper section of the next side represented Leto Apollo and Artemis, with their names above them in the following order:—

ARTEMIS

Nude to the waist.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ

Nude right arm over Artemis's shoulder, with a cloak hanging down his back and over his arm.

ΛΗΤΩ

Completely draped, with a snake apparently on the left.

The lower section of this side represented five figures, behind a group of four figures, of whom two were naked men wrestling, the other two were naked, one standing with outstretched arm, and one on a sort of stool; above them the inscription. partly illegible,—

ΤΑ PITONME

and over some of the figures were the letters, **ΝΩΤ ΙΥΡΟ**

On the third side, which I had no opportunity of sketching, on the upper section, under the words **ΤΡΟΦΟΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ**, was a nude infant struggling with a serpent between two draped female figures—evidently Hercules strangling the serpents sent against him by Hera. On the lower section of this side, and under the words **ΘΗΣΕΥΣ ΓΝΩΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ**, was a much defaced nude figure on the left, supporting what seemed to be a full sack, and on the right three draped figures.

I understand that they are continuing to find objects of interest at Nablous, which I trust shortly to have an opportunity of going to examine.

THE PASSAGE OF THE ISRAELITES ACROSS THE RED SEA.

BY SIR JOHN COODE.

THE *Quarterly Statement* for April of last year contained an interesting article by Professor Hull, of Dublin, on "The Relations of Land and Sea in the Isthmus of Suez at the time of the Exodus," wherein he deals with the question of the actual position of the passage of the Red Sea by the Children of Israel.

Professor Hull justly remarks that, according to the present position of land and water, there is a direct landway across into the "wilderness of Etham," and he asks whether, if at the time of the Exodus the physical conditions of the district north of Suez had been the same as they are now (of course he disregards for the moment the existence of the Suez Canal), there would have been cause for the cry of despair from the Israelites, or

the necessity for a stupendous miracle of deliverance such as the Bible narrative relates !

He then proceeds to show that the beds of sand and gravel containing shells, corals, and other marine forms now existing in the waters of the Gulf of Suez (which beds are found on either side of that gulf up to at least 200 feet above the present sea-level) form complete evidence of the elevation of the whole land area of that particular region, but that this elevation must have taken place at a time long antecedent to that of the Exodus. He points out, what is true, that if at the time of the Exodus an elevation of not more than from 25 feet to 30 feet had remained to be effected, the land now forming the southern part of the Isthmus of Suez would have been submerged by the waters of the Red Sea, and he regards it as in the highest degree probable that as far back as the time "when the Exodus took place the waters of the Red Sea extended northwards up the valley at least as far as the Bitter Lakes, producing a channel 20 to 30 feet in depth, and perhaps a mile in breadth ; a terrible barrier to the Israelites, and sufficient to induce a cry of despair from the whole multitude."

Having quite recently traversed the whole Isthmus, making a special examination of the portion between Ismailiyya and Suez, the following incident, which then occurred, appears to me to be worthy of notice, inasmuch as it is eminently corroborative of Dr. Hull's view.

Whilst engaged with other members of the International Commission upon the investigation of various matters connected with the question of improving the Suez Canal, some of our party landed from time to time, and on one occasion at a point between what is now the north end of the Gulf of Suez and the south of the Bitter Lakes, not, in fact, very far to the north of the bridge of boats by which the pilgrims to and from Mecca cross the Canal.

Desiring to test for myself the character and hardness of the unbroken ground at this point, and at a height of about 12 or 15 feet above sea-level, the first stroke of a pick turned up, from 3 inches below the surface, a thick cake of a dull white substance which at the moment appeared to be gypsum, and whilst stooping to take it up, I remarked accordingly ; but simultaneously, a colleague who was standing at my side exclaimed "Salt." On asking him how it came to pass that he so instantly arrived at this conclusion, he replied that the whole district thereabouts was full of such salt.

When it is explained that this gentleman had the engineering charge of a considerable length of this part of the Suez Canal at the time the work was in course of construction, and consequently had thus acquired an intimate knowledge of this district, and also that on testing the ground at other points thereabouts, I found salt existing below a thin covering of sand at heights considerably above the sea-level, there is ample warrant for saying, as I have done, that the extensive existence of salt in this form and at such a height cannot be regarded otherwise than as a proof that the waters of the Red Sea did at one time extend as far north as the Bitter Lakes ; a specimen nearly an inch thick is before me as I write.

Further evidence that, at some time antecedent to the formation of the Suez Canal, the sea extended as far up the Isthmus as the Bitter Lakes, is found in a remarkable sample of salt which was cut from the bottom of the Bitter Lakes by the engineers of the Suez Canal Company before the sea was let in to effect the completion of the water communication between the northern and southern sections of the work. This block of salt, to which my attention was directed by M. de Lesseps, is preserved in the courtyard attached to the offices of the Canal Company at Ismaïliya; it is fully 7 feet in height, and, according to M. Voisin Bey, who at the time it was taken out acted as the Company's Chief Engineer in Egypt, salt certainly existed to a still greater depth, but to what precise extent is not known.

I may here mention that whilst passing over the 1,500 (English statute) miles from the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb to Suez, the water of the Red Sea is so far changed by evaporation that samples taken from the surface at Suez have been proved to be nearly 2 parts in 1000 salter than those at Bab-el-Mandeb. It should be borne in mind, moreover, that an exceptionally great amount of evaporation would necessarily take place within such a comparatively shallow inland basin as that of the Bitter Lakes, having its surface swept by the hot dry air of the Arabian Desert, and shut in from the Mediterranean by the high land at Serapeum immediately to the north, or at any rate by the still higher ridge of country at El Guisr. These conditions would obviously contribute to the formation of such a remarkable deposit of salt as is found in the specimen above described.

A peculiar feature in this specimen is the presence of an occasional thin layer of sand, most probably caused during the prevalence of violent southerly winds which from time to time raise the sea-level at Suez nearly 3 feet above that of an ordinary spring tide in calm weather. The strong current to the northward on such occasions would be certain to carry a considerable quantity of sand into the Bitter Lakes, sufficient, it may be assumed, to account for the layers of sand in question.

The facts to which I have here called attention appear to me unquestionably to confirm the view entertained by Professor Hull. Feeling, with him, that according to this view the physical conditions at the time of the Exodus will be brought into harmony with the Bible narrative, and that the difficulty which has hitherto surrounded the subject of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea will thus have been to a great extent removed, I have ventured to send you the result of my own recent personal observations in the locality in question.

THE CITY OF DAVID.

BY THE REV. W. F. BIRCH.

"Nil tam difficile est, quin quærendo investigari possiet."—*Ter. H. T.*

So long as knowledge grows from more to more, will thoughtful writers on Jerusalem from time to time change, or at least qualify, their opinions. Mr. Fergusson in 1847 placed Acra west of the Temple, but in 1860 north of it. Surely, until he reverts to his earlier opinion, no one can fairly quote the weight of his name as in favour of the western site, which he has deliberately abandoned for more than twenty years. But if a writer is always to be tied down to what he has once written, and afterwards distinctly repudiated, then I must ask Captain Conder to submit to his own ruling, and to allow me to quote the weight of his own name, in favour of the Ophel site for the City of David, and against his later statements, since in *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 179, he said, "Thus the City of David, in this case, is Ophel."

Another error into which Captain Conder has fallen may also be corrected, as it bears on the position of Zion, and most readers are weary of arguments *pro* and *con*, and so in accepting theories are guided solely by the names of their respective advocates. In the *Memoirs* ("Jerusalem," p. 93) he says that "Sion has been supposed by Lewin to be identical with the Upper City of Jerusalem." Many will learn with surprise that Lewin was a most determined opponent of the common opinion, that the Upper City was the site of Zion, and actually accentuated his aversion to such an identification by dubbing the Upper City *pseudo-Zion*, *i.e.*, the false or spurious Zion. "Afterwards, in 'Siege of Jerusalem, 1863,' Lewin holds that the names 'Zion' and the 'City of David' were originally applied to the *whole* city of Jerusalem; that the latter was subsequently appropriated by popular belief to that portion of Ophel where he supposes 'David's palace to have stood.' Accordingly, throughout his book, he speaks of the south-west quarter of the city as 'now called Zion,' thereby intimating that it had no ancient right to this special designation; and yet, inconsistently enough, the name of Sion is given to it in his plan."

I am obliged to take this extract from "The Psalms of David" (by E. F.), as I cannot myself refer to "The Siege," since the Fund's copy has been indefinitely borrowed. Some reader of these pages perhaps will kindly correct me if I misrepresent Lewin's opinion, who, as it seems to me, never maintained that Zion was identical with the Upper City.

Whoever assails my theory must inevitably catch a Tartar, for the simple reason that the site I advocate is the very one appropriated (as many admit) to Zion in the Book of Nehemiah; and Nehemiah (be it remembered) himself was chief surveyor at Jerusalem and rebuilt its walls, and therefore must have known the position of Zion, the City of David, a thousand times better than either Josephus or any other writer on Jerusalem from his day to this.

As no one seems disposed to accept my challenge and grapple boldly

with my theory, I suppose it is time for me to make a sally and expose the utter hollowness of the arguments alleged in favour of the rival sites for Zion, positions well described (to use Lewin's word) as pseudo-Zions.

Now the key to the whole question of the true site of Zion consists of two simple facts, viz. :

(A) That the Hebrew version always describes the Valley of Hinnom as *ge*-Hinnom, and the Brook Kidron (on the east side of Jerusalem) as *nachal*-Kidron, never once interchanging the two words *ge* and *nachal*.

(B) That in the historical books of the Bible, the City of David is six times called Zion, but never in a single instance Mount Zion, while in the Psalms and Prophets this term is often applied to the Temple. Consistently with this distinction, 1 Maccabees, omitting all mention of *Zion* simply, speaks of the City of David as one place and *Mount Zion* as another, identifying it with the Temple or sanctuary.

Through disregarding these reasonable distinctions, and taking *ge* to be equivalent to *nachal*, and Zion (the City of David) to be the same as Mount Zion, writers have unconsciously produced such a confusion in Jerusalem topography, that with scores of books bearing on the subject, very few persons are aware of the true site of the City of David.

This remarkable distinction between *ge* and *nachal*, I must add, is no invention of mine devised to prop up my theory. Gesenius long since observed it, Lewin approved of it, Williams "had misgivings" in disregarding it, Thrupp and Captain Conder and others have recognised it; I merely insist on its *rigid* application, confident that it is the key to Jerusalem.

Further, that the City of David is never historically called Mount Zion in the Bible is a point that any Bible reader may verify for himself. Having got possession of this invaluable key, let me now use it without fear against all the pseudo-Zions, and show how untenable and indefensible it makes every one of the various positions held by the opponents of my theory.

First I will take the site west of the Temple originally proposed (though it resembles Lightfoot's) by Sir Charles Warren, since with his opinion on many kindred points I am in the closest agreement.

I. ZION, SOUTH AND NOT WEST OF THE TEMPLE.

In 1871 Sir C. Warren stated in the "Recovery of Jerusalem," that "in the Book of Nehemiah, the City of David, the House of David, and the Sepulchre of David, all appear to be on the south-eastern side of the hill of Ophel, near the Virgin's Fount, and yet such a position for Zion appears at first sight to be out of the question."

Seven years passed over before I perceived that the apparently contrary evidence, which seemed to Sir C. Warren to make the Ophel position for Zion "out of the question," really was in strict agreement with the evidence of Nehemiah. Seven years more have rolled on since that time, yet I regret to have to add that the whole Biblical evidence, which I have from time to time shown to be *consistent*, and to point to but

one conclusion, still appears to him contradictory, and leads him still to place Zion, the City of David, on the western side of the Temple, and not on Ophel on its southern side. When I place Zion on Ophel, he admits "it is the *natural* position to assign to it on reading the Book of Nehemiah, only it does not seem to me to accord with the other accounts."

I am very desirous that Sir C. Warren from an opponent should become an ally of my theory, by being convinced that this *natural position* is also the true position. One important result, I believe, would be that a diligent and (I anticipate) a successful search would soon be made for the sepulchres of David, and of the Kings of Judah, and the discovery of these most interesting and magnificent relics of pre-exilic Jerusalem would, once and for ever, lay the restless ghost of controversy about the position of the City of David, and save me the trouble of demolishing the other pseudo-Zions.

With this object I would point out two things—

- (1) That the weight of Nehemiah's evidence is simply overwhelming.
- (2) That his evidence is really in the strictest accord with all the other accounts except one or two palpably incorrect statements of Josephus.

The Book of Nehemiah (as admitted by Sir C. Warren) places (1) the Sepulchres of David (iii, 16), (2) the House of David (xii, 37), and (3) and (4) the stairs of the City of David (iii, 15 ; xii, 37), between the Pool of Siloah and the Temple, *i.e.*, on Ophel (so-called). It is also to be noted that in harmony with these indications "the House of the Mighty" (or *Gibborim*, the technical name of *David's* body-guard) is further (iii, 16) spoken of as being in this part, *i.e.*, on Ophel.

Here I must ask two questions. In the case of what sacred site does the identification rest upon fuller or better evidence than the Book of Nehemiah gives in the case of the City of David? If these four or five consistent statements in Nehemiah can reasonably be discredited, what identifications can reasonably be believed? Is it not far more probable that Nehemiah's statements are the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that the other sacred writers have been misunderstood by Sir C. Warren, than that the Biblical statements about the City of David are inconsistent and contradictory?

Sir C. Warren ("Temple or Tomb," p. 41) thinks it "probable that from the first the site of the Holy Sepulchre was known among the Christians, and that *it has never been forgotten*." But is it not much more probable that the Jews, with far less difficulties to contend with, never forgot the site of the Sepulchre of David, and of the City of David? When Sir C. Warren rejects the Ophel site for Zion, it seems to me that he has to suppose that the Jews, in the time of Nehemiah, had actually become misled about the true position of the Tomb and the House and the City of David, although there had been no break whatever in the continuity of their knowledge about these revered localities, for "many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house," were present when "the foundation of this (second

Temple *i.e.*) house was laid before their eyes" (Ezra iii, 12). Is it possible that all these had either forgotten the position of the chief sites in "the city of their fathers' sepulchres," or else agreed to transfer them to wrong positions? Any such ignorance or conspiracy is utterly inconceivable. If it is once admitted that the Book of Nehemiah places the *Tomb* and the *House* and the *City* of David all on Ophel, then, whatever be the consequences, I see no way of escape from a frank admission that these localities were actually on Ophel.

The position, however, held by Sir C. Warren I understand to be this, viz., that strong as is the evidence in Nehemiah in favour of Zion, the City of David, having been on Ophel, nevertheless the evidence requiring Zion to have been elsewhere seems to him still stronger and only to be satisfied by his site. As in the *Athenæum*, 1881, he writes of "The Temple or the Tomb" thus, "I must state emphatically that this book is a very serious attempt to settle the topography of Jerusalem, and one that I have no doubt will be successful," I take that work as setting forth his reasons for placing Zion west of the Temple.

Let me first, however, state certain points on which I agree with this most candid of opponents. He states in his book—

- (a) p. 21: "They (the first book of Maccabees) call the sanctuary . . . Mount Zion."
- (b) 9: "Zion, . . . the royal sepulchres were also there."
- (c) 9, 10: "Zion formed part and was the fortress of Jerusalem. Zion was not synonymous or co-extensive with Jerusalem. We have not a single instance in the historical books of the term Zion, or the City of David, being used for the whole city."
- (d) 24, 25: "His (*i.e.*, Josephus') vagueness in speaking of the topography of the past . . . greatly in contrast with the precision throughout the historical books (of the Bible) and 1 Maccabees. . . . It does not appear in any case that he gives any help in the topography" (*i.e.*, of the Jerusalem of the Old Testament).
- (e) 13: "There can be little doubt that Zion the stronghold was in Benjamin."

Having thus successfully threaded his way through what have proved great stumbling blocks to many, Sir C. Warren seems to me to have been completely beguiled into a wrong conclusion by three misconceptions: first as to (A) and (B) above, in reference to the distinction between *ge* and *nachal*, and between Zion and Mount Zion; and next, (C), that the Acra of Josephus was west and not south of the Temple.

Unconscious of his first misconception, Sir C. Warren writes ("Temple or Tomb," p. 35) in support of his western site thus: "This position I have assigned to Zion is the only one which allows of accord in the several accounts, and is the only site yet proposed that will render intelligible the passage, 'Now after this, he (Manasseh) built a wall without the City of David, on the west side of Gihon in the valley' (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14)." One has only to point out that the word here rendered *valley* is in the Hebrew version *nachal*, and at once it will be apparent that this passage,

instead of supporting Sir C. Warren's theory, is directly opposed to it, and confirms the evidence of Nehemiah. For a wall in the *nachal* or Kidron Valley, which is on the east side of Jerusalem, could not possibly be on the *west* side of Jerusalem. While, further, as Gihon literally means a *spring*, and not a pool, and as the only spring in the Kidron Valley is the Virgin's Fount, a lower wall on the east side of Ophel just west of that Fount (as required by this passage) would exactly suit the indications of Nehemiah which place the City of David on Ophel.

Even if some sophist could succeed in persuading one that *nachal* does not always in regard to Jerusalem mean the Kidron, still it might fairly be urged that it was needless to make the Bible contradictory, by applying to the valley running westwards from the Temple a term which undoubtedly often refers to the Kidron, especially when the usual application would leave Nehemiah and 2 Chronicles in perfect accord. So again, in like manner, 2 Chron. xxxii, 30, may be as well explained by the Ophel site for the City of David as by one west of the Temple, while it is probable that if Gihon means (as it must) the Virgin's Fount in xxxiii, 14, it also means the same spring in xxxii, 30.

One mistake often leads to and confirms another. Unaware that the *nachal* (Kidron) could not be the *ge* (Hinnom), Sir C. Warren drew the boundary between Judah and Benjamin which "went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom" (Josh. xv, 8) from "the Virgin's Fount, up the (Valley of Hinnom) Kedron, until nearly opposite the south-east angle of the Noble Sanctuary, where it crossed over the hill of Moriah at the southern side of the Temple, and thence up the Tyropœon Valley to the Jaffa Gate" ("Jerusalem Rec.," p. 307). As this line quite excluded the Ophel site from Benjamin (see (*e*) above), Sir C. Warren appears to think it unnecessary to discuss the Ophel site in "The Temple or the Tomb," and accordingly he does not make any allusion to the evidence of Nehemiah, even while he takes the trouble of saying (p. 24), "Akra (*i.e.*, Zion) could not have been south of the upper city as here fixed, and if further to the north than Et-Takiyeh, it would have been on the other side of the valley," &c.

Had he only gone on to deal with the Ophel site, I believe Sir Charles Warren and not I would now be its most resolute defender.

Further, unaware of his second misconception, Sir C. Warren writes ("Temple or Tomb," p. 11): "It would hardly be necessary to point out that Mounts Zion and Moriah were distinct hills, were it not that of late years they have been pronounced by some writers to be identical. In the first place, for many years after King David captured Jerusalem, Zion was a royal city, while Moriah must have been beyond Jerusalem, and was the private property of a sheikh or chieftain of the Jebusites. Then, again, David had to go up to Mount Moriah, which he could not have done had the two been identical; then we have the grand ceremony of bringing up the ark of God *out of the City of David, which is Zion*, up to Mount Moriah."

Here misconception as to (B), or involuntary confusion between *Zion*

and Mount Zion, makes a mountain of difficulty where everything is really smooth and plain. Only let it be borne in mind that Zion was the City of David, and that Mount Zion (the higher part of the ridge north of Zion) was the site of the Temple—*i.e.*, Mount Moriah—and these three points turn out to be genuine supporters of my theory.

David lived in Zion, the City of David, while Mount Moriah was outside it. Therefore he could go up and the ark could be brought up “out of the City of David which is Zion” to Mount Moriah (*alias* Mount Zion).

I have thus shown that the Biblical passages claimed by Sir C. Warren as requiring another site for Zion than that marked out in Nehemiah, are really in the strictest harmony with the evidence of that book. Instead of there being any “difficulty or discrepancy” about the Biblical statements, there is nothing but perfect concord among them, as to the position of the City of David.

After this it would only be so much the worse for the credit of Josephus if the third misconception (C) that I have attributed to Sir C. Warren could be shown to be no misconception on his part. For what value, in opposition to the Bible, would belong to the opinion of a “vague” writer like Josephus, who “does not appear in any case to give any help” in the topography of pre-exilic Jerusalem, but has rather made of it a Gordian knot by a few rash conjectures and inaccurate statements of his own devising? Bare justice, however, to the Jewish historian demands that I should point out that he nevertheless places his Acra *south* of the Temple, so that he also is thereby a witness in favour of the Ophel site for Zion, inasmuch as he makes his Acra correspond with the fortress or Acra of the Maccabees, and this (1 Macc. i, 33) was identical with the City of David. (See Acra south of the Temple.)

One or two other points still remain to be noticed. It is said (“Temple or Tomb,” p. 12) that “in no single instance in the historical books is this (that it was a holy place) said of Zion after the building of the Temple.” This, however, from 2 Chron. viii, 11, seems hardly to be correct, and curiously enough this verse is quoted on p. 6. Yet after the ark had been taken out of Zion, the City of David, one does not expect to read historically anything implying that it was still there.

Sir C. Warren admits (“Temple or Tomb,” p. 18) that no argument as to the position of Zion, the City of David, can be derived from the poetical books, yet afterwards he points out that Psalm xlviii may be an exception, and “if so we have direct proof that Zion, the City of David, stood on the north side of the city.”

Obviously he refers to the words, “Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion on the sides of the north, the city of the great King.” But, unhappily for his theory, even here it is *Mount Zion* (or the Temple), and not Zion the City of David, that is said to be towards the north. In *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 154 (see also 1878, p. 183), I have pointed out that the Rabbis (though misunderstood by Lightfoot and Fergusson) in several passages place *Mount Zion* (*i.e.*, the Temple) on the

north side of the city (*i.e.*, of David), or Zion. Therefore Zion was south of the Temple.

Lastly, if Sir C. Warren should urge ("Temple or Tomb," p. 21) that the foreign soldiers *descended* from the Acra (*i.e.*, the City of David) to molest the Jews, and that they could not have *descended* from the Ophel site, then the answer is that it is either he himself or Josephus who makes them to *descend*, since 1 Maccabees, the reliable authority for these times (which Josephus was not), speaks rather of a going up from the Acra to the Temple (1 Macc. vii, 33).

As, therefore, (1) Sir C. Warren admits that Nehemiah in four particulars places the City of David on Ophel, and (2) as it has been shown that 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14, instead of requiring his western site, makes it impossible, and that there was no difficulty in going from Zion, the City of David, to Mount Zion, the site of the Temple, and that according to Psalm xlviii and the Rabbis, Mount Zion, or the Temple, was on the north side of (Zion) the City of David; for it is admitted that 1 Maccabees gives the name of Mount Zion to the Temple, and identifies the City of David with its Acra; and (3) as this Acra is identified by Josephus with his Acra, which he has been shown to place south of the Temple, I now invite Sir C. Warren either to find some fresh defence for his pseudo-Zion or to abandon it entirely and occupy what he has all along admitted is Nehemiah's site, *viz.*, that on Ophel so-called.

I await with keen pleasure Sir C. Warren's attention to these remarks, hoping that he will (if he can) overthrow my conceit or else become the latest and ablest advocate of the Ophel site for Zion. To his memorable excavations at Jerusalem I am deeply indebted for my interest in the Holy City. If his works have enabled me, as a dwarf on a giant's shoulders, on the one solitary point of the true site of Zion, to see at present somewhat further than he has done, I cheerfully own my obligation to such an instructor.

Most gladly, too, shall I turn chameleon and change from a hasty critic to a patient spectator, whenever an outburst of enthusiasm for discovering the hidden catacombs of David sends forth a treasure-laden band of explorers to resume his too long suspended work of discovery. In this case whom would the men of Silwân ("Jerusalem Rec.," p. 243) more eagerly hail in their native tongue as a guide through the labyrinthine sepulchres of Ophel, than the well-known *Monitor Niloticus* (*Quarterly Statement*, 1871, p. 86) of the Philistian plain?

Meanwhile, if any one (in the absence of our *gibborim* in Africa) thinks that I go in for assertion rather than for argument, let him not fail at once ruthlessly (and if he likes anonymously) to expose the fallacies of my fancied reasoning.

Perish my theory if it be false; but if it is true, then the very next thing is to search for the sepulchres of David, so that some fortunate explorer may telegraph to Mr. Besant almost in the very words of Cæsar, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*"

W. F. BIRCH.

P.S.—I see that at the Carlisle Church Congress, Canon Tristram practically accepted my challenge and attacked the Ophel site for Zion in the following words :—

“Still less does it seem to me possible to conceive that the City of David, the fortress, was on Ophel, dominated by the higher rock of Moriah behind, and with the commanding brow of the modern City of David to the west. To any one acquainted with the strategic sites of ancient fortresses, the hypothesis is simply impossible. What becomes of the wall of Ophel excavated by Sir C. Warren, and which is referred to in Kings and Chronicles as the work of Manasseh? And again, there is no question as to the Jerusalem of the period of the return. We read the minute details of Nehemiah, and no ingenuity can square his description of the circuit with the suggested position of the City of David.”

Now it is remarkable that not men of war, like Sir C. Warren and Captain Conder, but Canon Tristram, like myself, a man of peace, should be the first to urge that, from a military point of view, it is impossible that the City of David, a fortress, ever stood on Ophel.

In “Jerusalem Recovered,” Sir C. Warren observes that there is a rocky knoll on the Ophel ridge higher than the ground immediately north of it. This knoll he marks at 2,290 feet (p. 298). If the ancient fortress of the Jebusites reached northward as far as this knoll, and was fortified here by a wall 50 feet high, then according to his plan of the rock levels it would not be dominated by any point on the Moriah ridge, or on the western hill (the modern Sion), within a distance of 400 feet. But at that distance, against *walls* built of *mezzeh*, what would even Arish’s bow have availed, though it was reputed to have carried between 400 and 500 miles?

If in the age of the twelve spies, the cities of Canaan were “walled up to heaven,” why might not the castle of Zion, 400 years after, be fortified in its weakest point by a wall 50 feet high? And how then, I would ask, does Canon Tristram propose with a sling and a stone, or even with a long bow, in the absence of catapults, to capture a fortress not dominated within a range of 400 feet? Secondly, as the Ophel wall discovered by Sir C. Warren is at least 200 feet north of the knoll (the assumed northern point of the City of David), the date of its construction has nothing to do with David’s Zion.

Thirdly, “the minute details of Nehemiah” place (and are admitted by Sir C. Warren to appear to place) the City of David solely on Ophel. I am glad to see every form of objection urged against Ophel (so called) being the site of the City of David, since, as the feebleness of each objection is exposed, it will gradually dawn on one and another opponent that Nehemiah’s site is both true and reasonable. One unique and invaluable advantage that this site possessed I may here name in passing, viz., that by means of a secret passage (Sir C. Warren’s shaft, or the “Gutter,” 2 Sam. v, 8) the defenders of Zion had at their service an inexhaustible supply of water from the Virgin’s Fount.

If now the opponents of the eastern hill once more fall back from

arguments on *names* they will be worse off than ever, since General Gordon ("Reflections in Palestine," p. 14) observed, "The Hebrew 'tzion' is always the eastern hill." It will take a few bushels of names to outweigh that of the noble hero of Khartoum.

NOTES BY THE REV. G. H. TOMKINS.

I.

SUGGESTED IDENTIFICATION OF BERTHAH OR BERTHAL.

THIS place, so important on the northern frontier of Palestine, has never yet been fixed. The name B-*rôthah*, בְּרוֹתָה, is only given by Ezekiel (xlvi, 16) in setting out the boundaries of the tribes. I do not doubt that it is the B-*rôthai*, or B-*rôthi*, בְּרוֹתִי, or בְּרֵתִי, of 2 Sam. viii, 8, a city of Hadadezer, King of Zobah, taken from him by David. I hope to show that this place may now be identified in a very interesting way, both by its name and by its probable position, and I will take the matter as it came to me, only premising that if I am wrong in separate points still my main position may hold good.

In the Karnak List of Northern Syrian towns made tributary by Thothmes III (Mariette, "Karnak," pl. 19, 20, 21) occurs Bur-su (141). In "Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Jan. 9th, 1883, I made a guess at its being possibly the Bisuru of Assurnazirpal (now Tell Basher), but this did not satisfy me, and it occurred to my mind that the explanation might be found in the Semitic word for cypress, or perhaps pine-tree, viz., Assy. *burâshu*; Heb. *b-rôsh*, בְּרוֹשׁ; Aram. *b-rôth*, בְּרוֹת; Arab. (says Kitto) *burasi* and *burati*; Syr. vers. *berutha*; Chald. *berath*.

Now the *Bursu* of Thothmes is very close to the Assyrian *burâshu*, allowing for the Syrian *s* instead of *sh*, which the Rutennu, lords of the land in the time of Thothmes, would use. *Burasu* and the Egyptian transcript Bur-su are one word, and this led me to the country of coniferous trees, and to the name B-*rothah* in the Bible.

It has been supposed that the B-*rôthah* of Ezekiel is Beirût, but I think this quite inadmissible from the situation of Beirût, and also from the name, which seems much more likely to be Heb. בְּאֵרוֹת, wells; and here I think Egyptian records will help us. For we have a Beerôth in the Palestine List of Karnak, No. 19, *Bartu*, so recognised both by Mariette and by Maspero (Zt., 1881, p. 123). And again, we have Beirût in the Mohar's travels, *Bartha* (Brugsch, "Geog. Inschr.," vol. ii, 42; Pierret, "Voc.," pp. 124, 126). And these names differ from Bur-su as Beerôth, בְּאֵרוֹת, from B-*rôsh* or Burâsu, Berutha in the Syriac, and B-*rôthah* in Ezekiel, and B-*rôthi* in 2 Sam. viii, 8, which might well be near Riblah, but could not be Beirût, a place of the Phœnicians who were friends and close allies of David.

But I am anticipating. In the very interesting letter of M. Clermont-Ganneau (*Times*, Dec. 29, 1883, *Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1884), the name of Wâdy *Brissa* struck me in connection with the rock-inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar found there by M. Pognon, who thinks "that these texts mark the site of a timber-yard where trees were cut to be sent to Babylon." Now this seems to me to cohere with all the evidence, as I will try to show.

The name of the wâdy, "one of the wildest valleys on the eastern slope of Lebanon, about two hours from Hermel," appears also as the name of a place, *Brisa*, in the beautiful *Carte du Liban* of the French Imperial Government, at the mouth of the wâdy, down which a stream is marked as flowing to the Orontes. *Brisa* seems to declare the root B-R-S, which in various modifications signifies *to cut* (including B-R-TH), and this is the key to the names given above as designating the cypress, or pine, which was regarded as *timber* for hewing.

Now in Syriac names habitually end in the vowel *a*, and (as we have said) take the sound of *s* rather than of *sh*. And I think *Brisa* may well be so called from the tree in question, which Mr. Carruthers, of the British Museum, takes to be the *Pinus Halepensis* ("Bible Educ.," iv, 359); and it may well be this tree which the conquered people of the Lebanon are represented as felling for Seti I, that he might build a great ship, and rear their stately stems as masts for the bright streamers in front of his temples.

We know that Thothmes III led his armies to the Lebanon, and thence drew the tribute that pleased him. The ships of Phœnicia were laden with sticks of timber and masts, together with long poles of wood for [the dwellings of] the king, who had founded in the country of Lebanon a fortress of unusual strength, named after himself, near the Phœnician cities of Aradus and Simyra at the foot of Lebanon (Brugsch, "Hist.," vol. i, pp. 334, 336).

The great valley of Cœle-Syria, the course of the Orontes, the new walls and towers of Kadesh, were well known to this hardy warrior-king. And I know not why the name Bursu should not have marked the place in his time, where Nebuchadnezzar gathered his stores of pine-timber so long afterwards, and which is now known by the name of *Brisa*.

Possibly another name, hard by *Brisa*, may illustrate this supposition. In the *Carte du Liban* I find on the other side of Hermel a place marked *Erénieh*.

Now *êrinu* is the Assyrian name for the cedar, as in Hebrew אֲרֵז occurs in Isaiah xlv, 14. May not *Erénieh* be named from *êrin*, as *Brisa* from B-rôsh?

I will now endeavour to prove that *Brisa* is a very likely site for Berôthah, taking that place also as the B-rôthi of Samuel.

It was one of the cities of Hadadezer, King of Zobah, whom David defeated towards Hamath, where an intrusive Hittite king, Toi, was at war with Hadadezer (see Sayce, "Fresh Light from the Monuments," p. 163.) It is not surprising that Hadadezer, who had subjugated the

minor "kings of Zobah" whom Saul had beaten, should hold lordship over the upper course of the Orontes.

And, as far as we know, Brisa will suit Ezekiel's boundary right well. Unfortunately "the way of Khethlon" is not known. May Heit, west of Riblah, be Khethlon? It is on the way from "the great sea" to Zedad, *i.e.*, Sudud (Ezek. xlvii, 16). I think this description may be partly cleared as follows: "from the great sea the way of Khethlon towards the entrance to Zedad-Hamath [or Zedad of Hamath]; Berothah, Sibirim (which is on the frontier of Damascus and Hamath); the middle Khatser (which is on the frontier of Khauran); and the frontier from the west Khatser-Ainûn the frontier of Damascus, and Zephôn [the Orontes, as Captain Conder suggests] northwards, and the frontier of Hamath." The Septuagint, which is very confused, seems to read Zedad-Hamath as one name transposed, *viz.*, Hemaseldam. If we take it as meaning Zedad of Hamath the difficulty of getting Hamath into the frontier-list disappears; and then all will go consistently. For we thus cut out the Phœnician territory, including the Lebanon, by a line following the opening of the Nahr el Kebîr to a little south of the Bahr el Kades, then striking the Orontes near Hermel, and perhaps making its south-east corner at Sabura, west of Damascus (Sibirim? סבירים), and then westwards to the north of Hermon until it finds the sea again. This will not take the frontier to Zedad, but to the entrance (לבוֹא), "as men go to Zedad" (A.V.), or, as the Vulgate puts it, "a mari magno via Hethalon, venientibus Sedada."

Then Khatser-ainûm, if it be at 'Ain el Asy, as Captain Conder suggests, would be quite in the line following the higher waters of the Orontes (Zephon), and he says that it is "close to the present north-west limit of the Damascus district."

But the situation of Berothah seems to be nearly settled by one Biblical coincidence. The place called Berothai in 2 Sam. viii is designated Kôn, כּוֹן, evidently the Conna of the Antonine Itinerary, in the parallel text of 1 Chron. xviii, 8.

This has been set by Porter and the *Carte du Liban* at Râs Ba'albek; but the thirty-two Roman miles given from Heliopolis will overreach Râs Ba'albek, and accordingly Captain Conder suggests Kamû'a el Hirmil. But this distance will very nearly bring us to Brisa, which may surely well be B-rôthah and Kôn.

If indeed the Brisa of the rock-inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar were the Bursu of Thothmes, and the Biblical Berotha, it would be a wealthy place, and David might well have taken "exceeding much brass" thence. And this would bring David's northern limit very near to the land of the Hittites and to Kadesh, as the record of his census shows in 2 Sam. xxiv, 6.

P.S.—I think it a very interesting thing that in the Karnak List of Northern Syria, No. 246, is found the name *Lebu*, which must, I think, be *Lebweh* on the road half-way between Ba'albek and Brisa, which

"modern name is sometimes pronounced *Lebu*," says Captain Burton. "It is the Lybo or Lybon of the Antonine Itinerary." ("Unexpl. Syria," vol. i, 64) [? Libo].

II.

THE QUÊ OF THE ASSYRIAN ANNALS IN THE BIBLE.

THE land of Quê, mentioned by Assyrian kings in their records of conquest, was the plain of Cilicia.

In the last work which, still incomplete, left the hand of the lamented Fr. Lenormant ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," vol. iii, p. 9), he has pointed out the interesting fact that this land is mentioned in 1 Kings x, 28, and 2 Chron. i, 16, where the word translated in A.V. "linenyarn" has so perplexed the interpreters. Jerome has given the true sense: "And horses were brought to Solomon from Egypt and from *Coa*, for the king's merchants bought them from *Coa*, and brought them at a settled price;" and similarly in the parallel passage. In the Hebrew it is קוה, קוה, and it is to be noticed that "all the kings of the Hittites" must include the King of Quê, as indeed we know.

In the Septuagint the name is given as Thëkouë, Θεκουë, but I think this was caused by the Egyptian prefix *Ta*, meaning "the land," which might be familiar to the Alexandrian Jewish scholars.

This is an excellent instance of the light to be gained from Assyria for the explanation of the Bible. The name Quê also occurs in Egyptian records in the composite personal name of Kaui-sar, a Hittite officer in Egypt.

III.

LUZ IN THE LAND OF THE HITTITES.

CAPTAIN CONDER thinks that the Lûz built by the man who betrayed Bethel (Lûz), as recorded in the Book of Judges (i, 22-26), may be the present Lûweizeh, near Bâniâs.

But if a more remote and northerly part of the "land of the Hittites" is to be preferred, it may be worth notice that in Rey's map a place called Qalb Louze is marked between Aleppo and Antioch, in the middle of the Hittite region.

IV.

THE NAME BETH-LEHEM.

THE ordinary meaning given to the name Beth-lekhem is "house of bread," the modern name being hardly different at bottom, viz., "house of flesh" in Arabic, since the root **אכל**, to eat, is only varied in application, as we now restrict the old general word "meat" to flesh-meat.

But I have long suspected that Beth-lekhem was originally a sacred place of the Lakhmu of whom we read in the Chaldean cosmogony (G. Smith, "Chaldean Genesis," by Sayce, 58, 60, &c). Lakhmu and his female counterpart Lakhamu seem to have been deities of fertility.

There is another Bethlehem (of Zebulon), equally called Beit Lahm, an old city of the Canaanites (Josh. xix, 15), "in the midst of an oak forest," says Dr. Porter (Murray, 370), a better place for a sanctuary of Lakhmu than for a "house of bread."

I think this Lakhmu will also account for the name of "Lakhmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite, whose spear-staff was like a weaver's beam" (1 Chron. xx, 5), and vindicate the text of the passage in the Chronicles in preference to that in 2 Sam. xxi, 19, which is otherwise doubtful. This devotee of Lakhmu would well match the son of Anak devoted to Saph (Saphi) "of the sons of Rapha" in the verse before. (See my paper on "Biblical Proper Names," Trans. Vict. Inst., 1882.)

Perhaps Lakhmam, or Lakhmas, may be similarly named. It is supposed to be the present El Lahm, very near Beit Jibrin. "The situation appears satisfactory. The site is ancient" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 53). This brings us to the very haunt of the sons of the giant, "the house of the giants." "We still find the neighbourhood of this town [Beit Jibrin] producing an exceptionally tall and fine race of peasants, greater and more stalwart men than those to be found in any other part of the country." So wrote the late Professor E. H. Palmer ("Jewish Nation," p. 58). Captain Conder speaks of the "gigantic sheikh" of this place ("Tent Life," vol. ii, p. 153). Indeed this Lahm might well be the home of "Lakhmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite," and Gath is only twelve miles off. That the old heathen significance of Lakhmu should resolve itself into "bread," and the proper name Lakhmi become unintelligible to the Jews, would be only characteristic of the purification that so signally swept Western Palestine of the monuments of its pristine idolatry, of which, however, the quaint memorials linger in occult forms of names and old-world folk-lore of the fellahin, as M. Clermont-Ganneau and Captain Conder and others have disclosed.

V

ZOBATH, ARAM-ZOBATH, HAMATH-ZOBAB.

ZOBAB has, I think, never yet been identified, unless, indeed, by the lamented George Smith in his last explorations from Aleppo.

Dr. Friedrich Delitsch, in his work "Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 266, gives most interesting extracts from George Smith's last pencil notes, in which he wrote: "(April) 6 (1876): 2.30 P.M. to 6.30 P.M. on to Sfirā. —7: 6.15 to 3.30. Kanassar, at corner of lake building of basalt, road through hills, large city by lake. Greek inscriptions and remains, remains of large camp near city—earth inclosure.—8: 3 hours past end of hills to Zobat or Zibat 4 miles round extensive ruins. Many Greek inscriptions, nothing earlier, tombs on hills.—9: 8 hours to Meskenēh, (Tīpsah.)"

Now the name Zobat would agree with the Assyrian form of the name Zubitu, or Zubutu: and the place, more than a quarter of the way from Aleppo to Palmyra, would surely suit well enough for Zobab. Professor Sayce considers Pethor, at the outlet of the Sajur into the Euphrates, to have been in Aram-Zobab, and says: "The territory Zobab, which extended into the desert towards Palmyra, adjoined Aram-Rehob, and Aram-Maachah (2 Sam. x, 6). Aram-Maachah again bordered on Geshur "in Aram" (2 Sam. xv, 8; iii, 3); and both formed parts of the territory allotted to Manasseh (Josh. xiii, 11, 13). However, Rehob and part of Zobab alone are included under the name of *Arumu* or Aram in the Assyrian inscriptions, which place them on the west of the Euphrates, southward of Pethor and the R. Sajur" (Queen's Pr. Bible Supp., p. 69).

Is it not possible that the Tōb of 2 Sam. x, 6, whence the Ammonites hired Aramæans against David (with the warriors of Zobab, Beth-rehob, and Máakah) may be found at Taiyíbeh (marked Tyba in ancient maps), between Palmyra and Thapsacus, and that Rehob may be Ruheibeh, north-east of Damascus, on the old route to Palmyra by Geruda (Porter, "Syria, &c.," p. 505). It does not seem necessary that this Rehob should be the same as the northern limit of the reconnaissance of Joshua's spies. The name is frequent.

"Maachah," says Canon Tristram, "lay east of Argob (Deut. iii, 14), and east of Bashan (Josh. xii, 5)."

As to Khamath-Zobab, may not this be explained as the *warm baths* near Kanasir in the land of Zobab (חמַת, the same in Hebrew without points as Khammath, viz., the present Hammâm ("Unexpl. Syria," vol. ii. 180), just as at Tiberias the Khammath of Josh. xix, 35, now Hammâm Tabariya?

P.S.—Is it possible that the name Ma'akah may in altered shape survive in the Tell Umm Ma'azah, visited by Burton and Drake, north-east of the Lejah? ("Unexpl. Syria," vol. i, p. 231.)

EXPLORATION IN THE DELTA OF EGYPT.

BY THE REV. H. G. TOMKINS.

IN the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1884, some account was given of the important work of M. Naville for the Egypt Exploration Fund in the Wâdy Tumilât, *i.e.*, the valley of the Sweet-water Canal. Since the memorable discovery at Tell el Maskhutah much has been done at Sâu by Mr. Flinders Petrie; and just now the subscribers to the Egypt Fund have received M. Naville's Memoir on "The Store-City of Pithom, and the Route of the Exodus." Of this I will first write something, and hope in a later number of the *Quarterly* to give a short account of the last year's work, and of that now in hand.

M. Naville's Memoir is handsomely got up, and contains thirteen plates and two maps. The plates are photographic, and represent the statue of the recorder and the sculptured hawk, both in the British Museum by the gift of H.H. the Khedive to the Committee, and of the Committee to the Museum. The plates give the inscriptions found by M. Naville. In these the name of the nome is given, that of the district, and that of the "store-city." The nome is , the 8th nome of Lower

Egypt. The district is , , , the last form being truly equivalent to the Hebrew סְכֹנֶת, letter for letter.

With regard to the equivalence of  and  the instances given by Brugsch in the *Zeitschrift f. Aeg. Spr.* 1875, p. 8, are conclusive, and so says M. Naville, p. 6: "The letter  which was pronounced *th* is often transcribed in Greek and Coptic by σ , and in Hebrew by ס . The name of Σεβέννυρος, Sebennytus, *Theb neter*   is a striking proof of this assertion, which is corroborated by the spelling of many common names. I need not dwell on this philological demonstration, which seems to me quite conclusive."

Yet a writer in the *Athenæum* of February 14, 1885, has the hardihood to pronounce that "the philology that can identify the *Oukut* of the hieroglyphics with the סְכֹנֶת of Exodus xii, 37, is worthless.¹

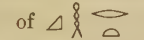
The "store-city" is called by the name of its sanctuary, spelt both ideographically and phonetically,  , Pi-Tum, Hebrew פֶּתֶם, and  , Ha-neter Tum, which equally means the sanctuary of Tum; and the tutelary god of the place is identified by various and conclusive

¹ I am glad to find that M. Naville agrees with me in an interesting point: "Rev. H. G. Tomkins has pointed out that we have the Assyrian transcription of Succoth in the Iskhût of Essarhaddon. *Academy*, March 3, 1883." Mem. p. 6, note.

proofs besides. In the *Deutsche Revue*, March 1884, p. 358, Brugsch gives his adherence to M. Naville's conclusion in most undoubting language.

I have already pointed out in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1884, how singularly the structures disclosed at Tell el Maskhutah, even in minute details, tell their own tale and bear out the precise and unusual particulars of the story in the Book of Exodus with regard to bricks, and straw, and reed, and the short supply, and the "hard bondage in mortar." It will not be doubted, I believe, by those who weigh the manifold monumental evidence, that we have there the store-city Pitum, built by the enthralled children of Israel.

It is in the large and important tablet of Ptolemy Philadelphus that we get some most interesting clues to further geographical discoveries.

The most curious is the mention of a place, with a sanctuary of Osiris, called , Pi-keheret, which seems, as M. Naville supposes, to have been "the second sanctuary of Heroöpolis, at a short distance from Pi-Tum, but nearer the sea." He compares the name with the Pi-Hakhiroth (Exod. xiv, 2, 9; Numb. xxxiii, 7), פִּי הַחִירֹת; LXX (Numb.), *τοσστόμα Εἰρώθ*; Vulg., Phihahiroth. In Numb. xxxiii, 8, we have merely Hakhiroth; LXX, Εἰώθ. The name itself seems to be, therefore, Egyptian, expressed in Hebrew חִירֹת. This would, I think, convey the sound of  well enough. Considering the determinative (a serpent), may we not compare , "serpent of the lower hemisphere" (Pierret. Vocab., p. 372)?

The ascertained position of Pi-tum and the indication of "Pihakhiroth" of Exodus put us on the sure line of march of the Israelites. I would recommend students of these questions to read the new edition (just out) of the very able and important work of the Abbé Vigouroux, "La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes," 4^{me}. edn. Paris. Berche et Tralin, Tome II.

In a future *Quarterly Statement* I hope to return to some detailed points of geography of the eastern part of the Delta. Meanwhile it is most satisfactory to know that M. Naville has undertaken excavations at an important point near Fakûs in the heart of the land of Goshen.

In the great ruined and deserted capital of the Delta, Zoan, Tanis, Sân, Mr. Flinders Petrie has entered on a course of thorough examination in his methodical and perfect style. It must be remembered that he has done much valuable service, which scholars will appreciate, in pioneering; having sifted the first tentative suggestions in very many places, and ascertained at what spots work will be worth the cost. All this is of very high practical importance, besides the actual results, of which I hope to speak in the next *Quarterly Statement*, with regard both to biblical and to classic antiquity.

The Rev. W. C. Winslow, of Boston, the Hon. Treasurer for America, is doing most active and successful work; and with regard to support at home it is especially to be noted with much pleasure that the Hellenic Society has given an earnest of approval and practical interest by a

donation towards the cost of excavations at the spot where Mr. Flinders Petrie has, in all probability, hit upon the ancient Naucratis, the one Greek colony of later Pharaonic times. The Hellenists will revel in the spoils of this mine of early Greek art, while the Biblicists will await the certainly important tidings of further exploration in Goshen and the "Field of Zoan."

THE SITE OF EMMAUS.

BY THE REV. P. MEARNS.

THE interesting narrative of our Lord's journey to Emmaus, with two of His disciples, on the day of His resurrection, has caused much attention to be given to the question as to the site of the village; but, until recently, nothing satisfactory had been suggested in the way of identifying the site. Mrs. Finn's identification of Emmaus with Urtâs, in the valley of Etham, near Bethlehem, has been received with much approval, as it well deserves to be. But certain objections have been urged against this discovery by writers who have paid some attention to the subject, and such objections ought to be carefully weighed. One thing seems to me certain, however, that if Urtâs be rejected the site is still entirely unknown.

Two writers, who both held theories of their own, have stated objections, in the *Quarterly Statement* for October last, to Mrs. Finn's discovery. It has been remarked by a shrewd observer of men and manners, that when a man has made a speech in favour of an opinion he is not likely to change it, even after he finds strong objections stated against it; but, if he has written a book in its advocacy, there is no longer any hope of his abandoning it. Mrs. Finn's critics naturally wish credit for previously expressed views; but others will be careful to weigh the evidence on both sides. The two objectors to Mrs. Finn are not themselves agreed; and, whatever may be said of her discovery, I think we must throw their theories overboard; for they do not seem to me to meet the requirements of the case. It appeared to me at first, as it does still, that none of the sites recently discovered in Palestine have been supported by evidence more conclusive than that produced by Mrs. Finn in favour of Urtâs as the true Emmaus.

Mr. Henderson says—"At the risk of being classed among cavillers I venture to give reasons for entirely dissenting from the proposed identification." He refers to Lightfoot, "who proposed to identify Etham with Emmaus, not only anticipating Mrs. Finn's proposal, but giving another, and (as he thinks) more plausible support for it than she has done." This remark is curious, especially as following his strong dissent. It cannot mean, that because the learned Lightfoot went to the valley of Etham for the site of Emmaus, Mr. Henderson "entirely dissents from" the proposal of Mrs. Finn to go to the same valley for the same purpose.

Perhaps he merely meant to refuse the credit of the discovery to Mrs. Finn because Lightfoot made a remark somewhat in the same direction. He thinks that Lightfoot anticipated Mrs. Finn's proposal, and gave more plausible support for it; and we almost expect him to add, therefore I yield to Dr. Lightfoot rather than to Mrs. Finn. Any one who has read Lightfoot's remark will see that it is feeble compared with the conclusive evidence adduced by Mrs. Finn; but we accept the identification with equal readiness, whether it is made by Lightfoot or Finn.

Mr. Henderson begins his objections thus:—"There is no evidence to show that 'the bath' Mrs. Finn writes of is of the age she assumes—that is, was old enough, not to say important enough, to give its name to a place known to Luke and Josephus." The reader is apt to suppose from this remark, that Mrs. Finn had incidentally found a bath among the ruins at Urtâs, and at once inferred that it was old enough to have given the name of Emmaus to the place before the days of Luke and Josephus; but, on turning to her paper in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1883, he will find that she has not said anything like this. After a personal examination of all the places, within $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Jerusalem, that had been or might be proposed as the site of Emmaus, she fixed on Urtâs as the only one that met the requirements of the narratives of Luke and Josephus. Her conclusion was not hasty, but was reached after a prolonged investigation of ten years. The ruined buildings had been concealed by 20 inches of soil; but she said that diggings might bring the buildings and the baths to light. "Several years passed before funds for making excavations were forthcoming;" but at length excavations were made, and both the buildings and the baths were found. Mrs. Finn thinks that there is reason to believe that baths had been used here in ancient times from the days of Solomon. It is a caricature of her remarkable discovery, to say that she found *one bath*, and concluded that it was old enough to have given name to the place.

Mr. Henderson's second objection is, that "the existence of a bath, or baths, in a valley down which flows abundance of water is not, *primâ facie*, a thing so special as to explain the distinctive name of a village." He does not say that the excavations carried out under the direction of Mr. Cyril Graham and Mrs. Finn brought several baths to light; but he slips in the words "or baths" to cover the whole. The reader who fails to turn to Mrs. Finn's paper will form a very incorrect idea of her discovery from the representations of Mr. Henderson. The local name of Urtâs is Hammâm, which like Emmaus signifies baths; and a rock there has the name *Leeyet al Hammâm*, that is, "the promontory of the baths." Here was abundance of water, and baths, and the very name Emmaus in its local form. But Mr. Henderson thinks that "if every place is to be recognised as a possible Emmaus where the name 'Hammâm' is found, we shall have plenty to choose from." It is not a "possible Emmaus" that is wanted, but one $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jerusalem, with the other necessary requirements, and, if we give up Urtâs, instead of many places to choose from, there is not one left.

Mr. Henderson's other objections are equally trifling. Jerome looked away from Urtâs, which was near Bethlehem, where he was living, to Nicopolis, which was far away, as the Emmaus of Luke. Mr. Henderson rejects Jerome's opinion, for this Christian Father favours Nicopolis; but he tries to get an argument against Mrs. Finn from his very silence. He appeals also to the silence of Meshullam, who is now dead; but how does he know what Meshullam had heard of Emmaus or Hammâm? As M. Meshullam and Mrs. Finn were joint-cultivators of the ground at Urtâs, it is likely that she had told him all she knew about the name, and probably he knew of it before her, as he had lived for years on the spot. Mr. Henderson thinks that Urtâs refers to the old gardens of Solomon; and that it was an older name than Emmaus; but he has not produced a particle of evidence for this opinion. Mrs. Finn's explanation is much preferable—that the Roman soldiers, who were settled there after the destruction of Jerusalem, changed the name from Emmaus to *Hortus*, the Latin name for garden; and that the natives corrupted this name into Urtâs.

Mr. Henderson is favourable to the claims of Kubeibeh, for which place not much can be said, except that it is about the proper distance from Jerusalem, which might be said of many other places equi-distant with it. The Crusaders fixed on it; but their opinion does not count for much. In publishing an account of my journey in Palestine in 1881, from Joppa to Jerusalem, I had occasion to remark—"It is a pity we can ask no more than probability for Kubeibeh" as the site of Emmaus. I could get no reliable information regarding the site. Since the publication of Mrs. Finn's discovery, in 1883, there is no longer a *probability* in favour of Kubeibeh. Mrs. Finn was aware of its claims; but, after a personal inspection, she concluded that neither there, nor anywhere else at the distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jerusalem, is there a sufficient supply of water for the baths of Emmaus. Professor Robinson says, that it was only in the beginning of the fourteenth century, when traces began to appear of the "idea which fixed an Emmaus at Kubeibeh; a transfer of which there is no earlier vestige, and for which there was no possible ground, except to find an Emmaus at about sixty stadia from the Holy City."

Mr. Henderson is not strongly in favour of Kubeibeh—he gives his readers a choice of it, or Khamasa on the other side of Jerusalem: he is only strongly against Urtâs, the true site. He was formerly an advocate of Khamasa, but the distance of ten miles from the city appears to have cooled him; although he retains the name, in the face of this formidable objection, so far as to offer his readers a choice between Khamesa and Kubeibeh. Lieutenant Conder's objection to Khamasa is unanswerable—"The distance of Khamasa is $8\frac{1}{2}$ English miles (some seventy stadia) in a straight line, and 10 by road" (*Quarterly Statement* for 1881, p. 274). Mr. Henderson reserves a right to offer a choice of Khamasa after it has been given up by everybody else who has given attention to the subject.

The second letter is very incorrectly printed. I therefore avoid

referring to what may be only typographical errors. But the letter is more distinguished by confidence than caution. Mr. Kennion begins by saying: "Mrs. Finn's case rests on a mistaken inference from the words of Josephus about the Galilee Emmaus." He ought to have been very sure of his ground before writing down so sweeping a condemnation of so esteemed a writer as Mrs. Finn. She is not likely to have rested her whole case "on a mistaken inference." On examination it will be found that Mr. Kennion is mistaken, and not Mrs. Finn. He says that Josephus interprets the name Emmaus "to mean *pro hæc vice* hot wells. But he certainly does not intend it to be understood that the name Emmaus always has that meaning." But Josephus, in fact, does not interpret the name Emmaus to mean, either for the occasion referred to or any other, "hot wells." The word he uses is *θερμα*, *warm baths*, referring to the gentle heat of baths. But if he had meant hot springs he would have used the feminine, *θερμαι*. Josephus says, that the meaning of a warm bath was particularly applicable to the Tiberian Emmaus; for in it was a spring of warm water, to supply the bath, and useful for healing. The historian distinctly says, that the name always points to a warm bath. The Hebrew Hammath also signifies "warm baths," rather than hot springs, as Dr. Tregelles remarks under the word in his edition of Gesenius. At Emmaus Nicopolis there was a healing fountain, and the baths supplied by it gave name to the place. Neither at Nicopolis nor Urtâs is there a hot spring now, whatever there may have been in the days of the Bible; but Mrs. Finn thinks that the name might be given to a place famous for its baths artificially heated. Mr. Kennion asserts that there is "no ground for the assumption with which Mrs. Finn sets out, that the interpretation given by Josephus to the Galilee Emmaus is to be extended, or has any application to any other Emmaus." But the truth is, that Josephus records the fact that the name was applied to three places—Tiberias, Nicopolis, and the village $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jerusalem; and he intimates no limitation of the general meaning he assigns to the word.

Mr. Kennion gives a much better account of Mrs. Finn's discovery than Mr. Henderson does. He says:—"The copious fountain in the Urtâs valley attracted her attention, as being sufficient to supply baths. The recollection of once visible traces of baths still existed in the neighbourhood: search is made: remains of extensive and luxurious baths are brought to light, dating very probably from the days of Herod the Great: and Mrs. Finn concludes that she has found Emmaus." We almost expect him to add, as he might well have done, I agree with her, and accept this as a highly interesting and important discovery. It is therefore disappointing to find him adding, "I submit that, just as every Emmaus was not a Hamath, or hot spring, so every discovery of Hammâm, or baths, is not the discovery of an Emmaus. That there were Hammâm at Urtâs Mrs. Finn has discovered as a veritable and interesting fact. But that the village itself, or the district, was ever known by the name of Emmaus, or even of Hammâm,

Mrs. Finn has not advanced a fragment of evidence." I have already shown that Emmaus is never a hot spring, but a hot bath, and that the three places to which, according to Josephus, the name was applied had all a spring for the supply of baths, and that Mrs. Finn found the local name for Emmaus at Urtâs. We do not speak of "a fragment of evidence" merely, but we say that the chain of evidence in favour of Urtâs is complete, not one link being wanting.

Mrs. Finn remarked in her paper that Emmaus had been "chosen for a Roman settlement of military colonists, 800 strong;" and she added that "Cæsar ordered the lands of Judæa to be put up for sale, *all but one place*, which he reserved for 800 men, whom he had dismissed from his army—which he gave them for habitation." She thought it "not likely" that Kolonieh would have been chosen for the Emmaus settlement; "for it would have been altogether useless on the western side as a check on the eastern fortress of Masada, or on the mountain district in general, being too much off the upper plateau of Highlands." Mr. Kennion objects that "the colonisation referred to was in no sense what she calls it, *military*. It was a *grant of land* to 800 *disbanded* veterans, for their residence and possession." Unintentionally no doubt, but not the less really, does he here misrepresent Mrs. Finn. He does not quote her words, but he conveys the impression that, according to her, the 800 soldiers belonged still to the regular army, and that they were stationed at Emmaus solely for defensive purposes. But she called the company military only because it consisted of soldiers dismissed from the army; and they would require some fortification to defend themselves from the sudden attacks of neighbours in those times of war and confusion. Their very presence would be a protection against incursions from the east side of the Jordan. Mr. Kennion puts emphasis on the words *grant of land* and *disbanded*, as if to intimate that Mrs. Finn had said something contrary; but her words were confirmatory of both.

Mr. Kennion tries to get some help from Jerome, who blunderingly fixed on Nicopolis as the Emmaus of Luke, and overlooked the true site; but he admits the fact that the true site was not known in the days of Jerome, so that he can get no help from him.

He mentions what he calls an *improbability*—that Josephus and Luke should have stated the distance from Jerusalem if the place was so near Bethlehem. He is at a great loss for arguments when he resorts to such an improbability. Josephus was likely to state the distance from the great city where the Romans completed their conquest of the Jews, when he was speaking of the destination of a portion of the disbanded army. And as for Luke, he was describing a journey, not from Bethlehem, but from Jerusalem to Emmaus, and probably the disciples only passed near, and not through, the City of David. His mistaken improbabilities lead him again to speak of "the fragile nature" of Mrs. Finn's arguments; but he is still dreaming; when will he awake? It is "as when a hungry man dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty."

Mr. Kennion concludes by propounding his own theory, which is, that the district of Emmaus in Josephus "lay along the valley that has Kolonieh at its southern extremity," and that the village in Luke "was near the head of that valley, and reaching on to Kubeibeh." It is his old opinion, which he finds it hard to give up in favour of Mrs. Finn, whom, however, he thanks "for her valuable contribution to the discussion."

I have already referred to the claims of Kubeibeh, which really have no weight in the presence of Mrs. Finn's discovery. As for the district beginning at Kolonieh, four miles from Jerusalem, it is impossible that Josephus, who knew the district well, could have said that it was $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the city. The proposal of this site must therefore be regarded as utterly untenable. But no discovery of baths is mentioned at Kubeibeh; and the reader now perceives why the writer was led into the error of asserting that Josephus explained Emmaus to mean hot springs, and that baths were not necessary to every Emmaus. He shuts his eyes against the flood of light which Mrs. Finn has thrown on the subject, and says: "One conclusion is indisputable, that no other location of St. Luke's Emmaus could by any possibility combine so many rays of light as converge upon the Wâdy Buwai." His conclusion is not only disputed, but we may pronounce it utterly impossible to accept the site he proposes. All was doubt and uncertainty about the site of Emmaus till the publication of Mrs. Finn's paper; but now all appears clear and certain.

Coldstream.

ZION AND OPHEL.

BY J. M. TENZ.

Mr. Birch and Dr. A. H. Sayce are confident that Mount Zion stood on the south side of the Temple mount which descends down to the lowest part of the valleys surrounding Jerusalem, and Dr. Sayce, in his "Topography of Præ-exilic Jerusalem," in the last *Quarterly Statement*, takes it for granted that it is no longer possible to deny it. Yet the valley which Dr. Sayce shows in his sketch map to divide Ophel from his little Mount Zion on the lowest hill of the city has no existence.

We may also justify the remarks made by Captain Conder in reply to Mr. Birch on the same subject in the last *Quarterly Statement*.

Josephus, the great historian of the Jews, who is so much blamed for his errors, and attributed errors, is yet the most reliable authority, as it has in many cases been proved by recent discoveries.

Having for many years taken great interest in the history of Jerusalem, the Temple, and the discoveries made from time to time by exploring

parties, and having also carefully constructed a model of that city when in the time just before its destruction by Titus, I may be permitted to give my opinion on the topography of ancient Jerusalem.

The "upper city" of Josephus answers to all requirements of Mount Zion, the City of David. "Walk about Zion, and go round about her, tell the towers thereof, mark ye well her bulwarks, and consider her palaces," means many towers, extensive walls, numbers and important palaces, which could not have all been placed on the lower slope of the Temple-hill, which by Josephus is called the suburb.

In a military point of view we may naturally suppose that the uppermost hill was "Mount Zion, the stronghold of the Jebusites." History and recent discoveries support it. When the Israelites took possession of their promised land, Jerusalem fell to the lot of Benjamin (5 "Ant.," i, 22), "but the Jebusites who inhabited it were not driven out until the time of David," "and the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite; the same is Jerusalem" (Josh. xv, 8). This passage sufficiently indicates that the border went up by the south valley, which is now called valley of Hinnom. The Tomb of David may also be looked for at or near the traditional site, which is over against, or near "the pool that was made" (Neh. iii, 16), which may well be the so-called lower Pool of Gihon, once one of the largest pools at Jerusalem.

The Dragon Well may be identified with the Virgin's Well.

On the arrival of Nehemiah at Jerusalem, the Temple was partly rebuilt by Zerubbabel; the king's high house (the site of which was in later years joined to the outer court of the Temple by Herod the Great) was probably restored, and the Nethinims had dwellings in Ophel; Nehemiah would have taken up his residence there, as the other parts of the city were still in ruins. On his night journey he would have proceeded from Ophel to the valley gate before the Dragon Well (Virgin's Well), then went on to the dung gate, probably the same as the gate between two walls near the Pool of Siloam, then to the fountain gate, a gate leading to the upper city. After he went up by the brook (Brook Gihon and Valley of Hinnom), then returned and entered by the valley gate (Neh. ii, 12-15).

Further explorations may result in the discovery of the site of the east, or Shushan gate, which according to the Talmud stood over against the east front of the Temple. Thus we would obtain the exact line from east to west through the centre of the Altar, which, I believe, stood on the rock in the Great Mosque. It has also been remarked, in one of the *Quarterly Statements*, that the sacred cubit, which is said to have been marked on the sides of the Shushan gate, may yet be found on the lower part, which must have been below the level of the court, with steps to descend to a much lower level of the ground outside the wall, but which is now to a great extent filled up. The discovery of that gate would therefore be of great importance.

It is still my impression that some remains of the second wall may yet be found on the east side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is quite possible that that church may cover the site of Calvary and the garden of

Joseph of Arimathea. Although, according to the Talmud, the place of stoning, and the discoveries of the ruins of St. Stephen's Church outside the Damascus gate, may favour Captain Conder's views of his supposed Calvary on a hill just outside that gate, yet the traditional site, which dates at least back to the time of the Empress Helena, ought not to be disputed until further discoveries can be made.

We sincerely hope that the Palestine Exploration Fund Society will be able to continue their work of exploration at Jerusalem, which is the only means to lead us to a satisfactory result.

December 10th, 1883.

CAPTAIN CONDER AND KADESH-BARNEA.

BY THE REV. H. CLAY TRUMBULL.

INASMUCH as Captain Conder has given special prominence, in the *Quarterly Statement*, to my volume on Kadesh-Barnea, as worthy of consideration in the settlement of a pivotal point in the lower boundary of Palestine, I venture to ask the privilege of calling attention to the main purpose of that volume—which he has not touched by his comments.

In "Kadesh-Barnea," I have subjected every Biblical mention of that ancient site to an examination, and have compared them all with each other, showing, as I believe, that many of them absolutely require its location at or near the site of 'Ayn Qadees, and that every one of them is consistent with that location; hence that there and there only its identification is properly to be looked for. If I am right as to this consensus of Biblical evidence, it follows that even if a Kadesh-Barnea be actually discovered elsewhere, it cannot, by any possibility, be the Kadesh-Barnea of the Bible-text.

This basal portion of my volume is, as I have said, left untouched by Captain Conder's criticisms; and if, indeed, he were found to be correct at every one of his more than twenty noted points of difference with my incidental suggestions of confirmatory evidence of the identification of 'Ayn Qadees, my claim that *there* is the site of Kadesh-Barnea would remain as strong as before, in spite of such errors in my confirmatory collatings.

But, lest Captain Conder's long list of apparent mistakes on my part should throw discredit on the really important portion of the volume, not dealt with by him, and so should deter from its examination those who know of it only from his criticisms, I desire to say, that after a careful re-examination of every point to which Captain Conder has taken exception, I am of the opinion that at no one of them has he shown an error in the work he criticises, while in a number of cases his own position is clearly untenable. Let me name a few illustrative instances.

1. I referred to the plain of "Es-Seer," or "Es-Sirr"—as noted by Rowlands and Wilson and Palmer—as a trace of the old name of "Seir," in the region south-eastward from Beersheba. Captain Conder says of this modern name: "Until it can be shown to contain the guttural of the Hebrew, it cannot be considered to represent Seir, especially as it should begin with *Shin*, nor with *Sin* or *Sad*." But Gesenius, Fürst, and other lexicographers, are positive that the Hebrew guttural (ע) is frequently interchanged with approximate sounds, and is sometimes dropped altogether. Captain Conder himself suggests this dropping, when he would find a trace of "Ba'al" in "Ballah." And Dr. John Wilson even cites this very word "Seir" (east of the Arabah) as an illustration of the exceptional dropping of the 'Ayn. "Yet we have," he says, "الشراه (Esh-Sherah), for שַׁעִיר (Seir)." And in this view Wilson is sustained by Burckhardt, by Koehler in his notes on Abulfeda, and by others.

Again, the lexicographers above-named give marked illustrations of the representing of the Hebrew *Sin* by the Arabic *Sin*, instead of *Shin*. This would seem to make it *possible*, certainly, for the name "Es-Seer" to be a trace of the ancient "Seir," especially as the district where it is found did, as I think I have shown from the Bible-text, formerly bear that name—whether it be found there now or not.

2. I have claimed that the early Old Testament sweep of Edom clearly included the region also known as "Seir," where Esau lived before he removed to "Mount Seir." Captain Conder thinks that "the name Edom, or 'red,' must surely have been applied to the red sandstone country, and not to the white chalk plateau of the Tih." But the Bible says that the name Edom likewise came from the "red" pottage—which Esau ate on "the white chalk plateau" of his early home; "therefore was his name called Edom," and therefore was his land likely to be known as the land of Edom. I still incline to the opinion that the Bible statement has some basis of truth in it.

3. In explaining the causes of the long-prevalent error that there were two Kadeshes, I referred to the Rabbinical evidence that there were two Reqams, one of which was Petra, and the other was Kadesh. Captain Conder says, "I fail to find anything to support the view that there were two Rekems, one at Petra, one at 'Ain Kadis;" and he courteously suggests that "the second Rekem seems only necessary to the theory of 'Ain Kadis being Kadesh-Barnea." But I cited the assertion of a well-known Talmudic scholar of more than two centuries ago, that, according to the Talmud, "there were two noteworthy places named Rekam on the limits of the land [the Holy Land]." Then I showed from the Talmud itself that one of these Reqams was in the region of Petra (probably identical with it) while the other (sometimes called "Reqam Giah") was on the westerly side of the desert, toward Askelon. The identity of 'Ain Qadees with this second Rebam I left open for other proof. Does Captain Conder really think that the Talmud was written in the special interest of those who would identify Kadesh at 'Ain Qadees?

4. Concerning the "Mount Hor in the edge of the land of Edom,"—which is not, however, an essential point in the locating of Kadesh-Barnea,—I claimed that the whole tenor of the references to it in the Bible-text forbid the possibility of its fixing at the traditional site, in a mountain stronghold of the Hebrew-tabooed Mount Seir; while every requirement of the sacred text is met in the suggested location at Jebel Madurah. The evidence of the Bible-text Captain Conder does not discuss; but he is sure as to "the consensus of tradition and opinion in the matter." I spoke of the possible vestige of the Hebrew name "Moseroth" (one of the names of the lower Mount Hor) in the Arabic "Madurah," "the consonants 'D' and 'S' having a constant tendency to interchange in Eastern speech." At this Captain Conder says: "I do not think this is the case. The soft T and the soft S (*Te* and *Sin*) are convertible, and so are the soft D or Dh and Z (*Dhal*, *Dal*, *Zain*), but I do not recall any instance where D and S are convertible." I did not say that D and S were "convertible," but that they had "a constant tendency to interchange;"—if Captain Conder is not aware of *that* fact, I am surprised; for the lexicons teem with illustrations of it, and Orientalists frequently refer to the fact. For example, from Freytag and Fürst: Hebrew, חָסָה (*Khasa*); Arabic, حدا (*Hadaa*); both meaning "to flee." Hebrew, נָסַח (*Nasakh*); Arabic, نَضَح (*Nodakha*) and نَضَح (*Nadaha*), all three meaning "to pour out." Also in Arabic itself, such parallel forms as يَصَّس (*yassasa*), and يَدَّ دَدُ (*yaddadu*), "to open the eyes" (said of a young animal).

5. Incidentally I referred to the *correspondence* of the names "Zephath" and "Sebayta," and to the lack of the formerly claimed identity between "Zephath" and "Sufâh." Captain Conder says: "The radical meaning of this name [Zephath] in Hebrew and Arabic is the same, 'to be clear,' 'bright,' 'conspicuous,' 'shining.' The identity of Zephath and Sufâh can hardly be doubted by any who consider the root whence the two words originate. The suggestion of Sebaita or Sebâta for Zephath has always seemed to me to argue a want of scholarship on the part of Rowlands. The Arabic name seems to be from the root Sebt, 'rest,' which has not a single letter in common with the root whence Zephath originates." But it is Professor Palmer who says ("Desc. of Exod," ii, 375 f): "The name Sebaita is etymologically identical with the Zephath of the Bible, Zephath signifies a watch-tower." As to the root of the two words, it would seem that Captain Conder has mistaken, as a root, the Hebrew צָבָה (*Tsabah*), "to shine," for צָפָה (*Tsaphah*), "to look about." The idea that Professor

Palmer, having examined this word on the field and afterwards in his study, should have confounded the root of "Zephath" and "Sebayta" with so common a root as that of the "Sabbath,"—"which has not a single letter in common with the root" he was considering,—presupposes "a want of scholarship" on the part of that eminent Orientalist which English readers generally will not be ready to admit without some show of proof.

6. One of the many Hazars, or Hezrons, or border-territory "enclosures," of Canaan, is mentioned in the sacred text as lying between Kadesh and Adar. I stated that I found traces of one or two enclosures between 'Ayn Qadees and 'Ayn Qadayrat, which would meet that description. Thereupon Captain Conder says: "Dr. Trumbull has omitted to notice what appears to me to be a strong argument, which, as far as I know, I was the first to suggest, in the identification of Hezron." The site of Hezron which Captain Conder suggests is "the Hadireh hill west of Wâdy el Yemen"—quite out of the Bible possibilities of the case; and he says: "It is strange that Dr. Trumbull should have been quite silent as to this suggestion, which if it be correct settles the Kadesh-Barnea question for ever;" and Captain Conder even thinks that "the omission of any notice of Hadireh (in 'Kadesh-Barnea'), and several minor errors above pointed out, seems to spoil the completeness of the work." Yet the term Hazar, Hazor or Hezron, or the plural form, in simple or in compound, is so common as a descriptive one in the Bible story (see, *e.g.*, Numb. xi, 35; xxxiv, 4, 9; Deut. ii, 23; Josh. xv, 23, 25, 27, 28; xix, 5, 36, 37; 1 Kings ix, 15; Ezek. xlvii, 16, 17), that if found by itself anywhere it would hardly be more determinative as a particular site than the term "camp." It is even shown by the Bible-text (Deut. ii, 23) that these Hazars or Hazarîm were all along the southern boundary of Canaan, and four or five of them are noted, as near each other in that region, in the description of that border (Josh. xv, 23-28). The idea that the finding a trace of one of those "enclosures" "settles the Kadesh-Barnea question for ever," seems to me so utterly chimerical that I should not have felt justified in an attempt to refute it if it were not forced into fresh prominence by Captain Conder's renewed claim of its importance. I certainly accord to him all the credit of being, as far as I know, "the first to suggest" it.

7. I gave the Arabic name of "Qadayrât" precisely as it was written for me by my guide, who gave me also its English meaning as "the power of God." Captain Conder says that "it appears to be spelt with a *Dad* [instead of a *Dal*] by mistake." Yet the dialectic change of *Dad* for *Dal* is by no means uncommon in Arabic words, as the lexicons show. I simply gave the writing and the definition as given to me by a native Arab. Captain Conder has himself emphasized "the importance of studying the local peasant dialect of Syria," because of its throwing light on the interchanging of letters—like *Sin* and *Sad*—supposed by scholars to be "never confused." Possibly another example of this is to be found in *Dad* and *Dal*.

8. Quite outside of the question of the site of Kadesh-Barnea, but considered at some length in my book, is the route of the Hebrew exodus. Captain Conder says: "It is to be regretted, however, that sufficient notice has not been taken of the facts (both geological and engineering), which leave it indisputable that the level of the Red Sea has been changing, and that the Isthmus of Suez has been growing broader within historic times." In speaking of that which is "indisputable," Captain Conder probably

means that, in his opinion, the view he holds ought not to be disputed ; —although he is aware that it is. I have yet to see any claim by a geological authority that the Isthmus *must have been* materially narrower in the days of Moses. The mere opinion of a geologist that it *might have been* so at that date, because it had been so long earlier, can weigh but little against the evidence and indications from history, sacred and profane, to which I have pointed in my book, that then it *was not* so.

9. My footnote remark, in passing, an incidental item of Egyptian history, that "the fortress of Kana'an has not been identified," prompts Captain Conder to say: "This seems to have been written before Dr. Trumbull had seen my paper on the subject, as my suggestion of Kana'an a large ruin near Hebron, met with hearty acceptance from Mr. Tomkins." In the English edition of my book (published by Hodder & Stoughton), I have mentioned Captain Conder's proposed identification; but while I recognise the exceptional value of the Rev. Henry George Tomkins's opinion in favour of one of Captain Conder's suggested identifications, I still venture to repeat what I have already said in my revised volume, that, in my opinion, Khurbet Kana'an "does not correspond with the pictured [Egyptian] representation of a fortress on a detached hill, with a lake near it."

10. Captain Conder's mention of a "rationalistic explanation of the pillar of cloud and of fire, which seems suggested on p. 397" of my book, I do not quite understand; but I desire to relieve the text and the tone of my work from the imputation which "seems suggested" in that mention. Referring to the fact that "it was common for Eastern armies to be guided by a column of smoke moving on in their van by day, and by a streaming banner of flame before them by night," I said that when Jehovah's host went out from Egypt, "the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light." And to make it clear to every mind that I looked upon the Israelites' guiding emblem as a supernatural and a miraculous display, I quoted approvingly the words of Kurtz, that the difference between the ordinary caravan-beacon and this one was, "that the one was a merely natural arrangement, which answered its purpose but imperfectly, and was exceedingly insignificant in its character, whilst the other was a supernatural phenomenon, beyond all comparison more splendid and magnificent in its form, which was also made to answer far greater and more glorious ends." Possibly Captain Conder's term "rationalistic explanation" was a slip of the pen, or a misprint, for "rational explanation."

11. While admitting that I have shown the existence of an 'Ayn Qadees at the site described, Captain Conder suggests that it may be "a monkish site;" since "the monks were not careful as to the Biblical requirements of their sites;" and he also says that, "generally speaking, one feels that the evidence has been rather twisted in favour of 'Ain Kadis, though Dr. Trumbull has striven to be impartial and candid." It is quite a fresh thought to me, that the monks were in the habit of fixing, in Arabic equivalents of ancient Hebrew, geographical sites of the Old Testament story,

in the Holy Land or the desert ; although I knew that they located the homes, or the tombs, of Moses, and Aaron, and Samuel, and Elijah, and Jonah, and other Old Testament personages, without much regard to the Biblical requirements"—as in the case of Jebel Neby Haroon (called Mount Hor), for example. Their interest was, I supposed, in Bible biography rather than in Bible geography. Indeed in a work written since my re-discovery of 'Ayn Qadees, Captain Conder has said implicitly on this point ("Heth and Moab," p. 18) : "There is, however, no better guide to identification than the discovery of an ancient name, and whatever may have been written concerning the migration of sites, we have not as yet any clearly proven case in which a Semitic indigenous title has wandered away from the original spot to which it was applied for geographical or religious reasons." Why Captain Conder would suggest an exception to his otherwise invariable rule, in this case of 'Ayn Qadees, is by no means obvious ; for I certainly would not suggest that, "generally speaking, one feels that the evidence, or the argument," "has been rather twisted" by him *against* 'Ayn Qadees ; for it must not be questioned that Captain Conder "has striven to be impartial and candid."

12. It would seem unnecessary for me to follow up in detail all the minor points touched by Captain Conder in his extended critical comments on my work ; not one of which has any more force than those to which I have already replied. But there is a single other suggestion of his which I ought to note in closing. He says : "The map requires a word of notice, for it is not clear why 'Ain Kadis is there shown much further east in longitude than is the case in Palmer's map, or Holland's map." It is even in connection with *this* point that Captain Conder suggests the appearance of my twisting the evidence I would proffer. On the face of my map I said distinctly : "This map makes no claim to accuracy in the unsurveyed region of the Negeb. Any comparison of maps based on the researches of Robinson, Rowlands, Wilson, Palmer, Holland, Bartlett, and other recent explorers, will show irreconcilable differences in the contour of that region as portrayed by them. All that this map attempts is to indicate the outline and salient points of that region in the light of present knowledge, and as explained by descriptions in the text of the volume which it accompanies." I will now add, that on my return from the East I saw Professor Palmer in London, and talked over my discovery with him. He told me that he did *not* visit 'Ayn Qadees ; hence he could not be sure of its location. We looked over his map together, and, in the light of all that I could tell him of my journeyings, he and I were agreed that 'Ayn Qadees must be farther east than he had supposed. Therefore it was that I entered it on my tentative sketch-map accordingly. As I understand it, Mr. Holland made no survey of the region, and the map which was prepared by General Sir Charles Wilson, to accompany Mr. Holland's posthumous notes of his journey, was also based on Palmer's (or Tyrwhitt Drake's) survey ; hence, again, the location of 'Ayn Qadees was there given as erroneously indicated by Professor Palmer. *The difference in the location thus indicated affects in no degree, however, the question of identification*—an identification which the



1



2



3



4



5



6

Bible record will admit of anywhere within the sweep of a dozen or fifteen miles or so in that region, and only within that sweep. There was, therefore, no inducement for me to change the location for the sake of my argument, even if I were as liable to such swaying as Captain Conder would suppose.

Of one thing I am very sure, that the precise location of 'Ain Qadees—which is Kadesh-Barnea—can be known only through a careful survey of its region; and I earnestly hope that that survey will soon be made under the eminently competent direction of Captain Claude Regnier Conder; for whatever differences of opinion there may be as to his thousand and one identifications, with his often fanciful and his sometimes grotesque suggestions of resemblance, there is no question that he has laid the entire Bible-studying and truth-loving world under obligation to him, for his tireless, his intelligent, and his most skilful services as an explorer and a surveyor in the lands of the Bible. And of that line of his work, I sincerely hope that the end is not yet.

H. CLAY TRUMBULL,

Philadelphia, U.S.A.

NOTES ON SOME PHœNICIAN GEMS.

By GREVILLE J. CHESTER, B.A.,

Member of the Royal Archæological Institute.

IN the course of last winter, during visits of short duration to Smyrna and Beyrût, I obtained several antique gems and engraved stones of Phœnician and semi-Phœnician character, which seem to be of sufficient interest and importance to merit description in the *Quarterly Statement* of our Society. I should, however, mention at starting that, being altogether unlearned in ancient Oriental languages, I am indebted for the ensuing information concerning the different inscriptions to Professors A. H. Sayce of Oxford, and Robertson Smith of Cambridge, to whom my best thanks are due for the trouble they have taken, and the attention they have paid to the matter.

No. 1. Bought at Beyrût. (See plate.)—This gem is of pale blue chalcedony, approaching to the stone sometimes called "sapphirine," and is a fairly executed and beautiful specimen of semi-Phœnician work. The influence of both Egyptian and Assyrian art are here well displayed. The intaglio represents a winged sphinx treading upon a uræus. This sphinx, according to Professor Sayce, has the bearded human head of the Assyrian bull, surmounted by the plumes of the Egyptian god Bes. Each of the two wings ends in a horned head, of which one resembles that of a griffin, and the other that of some species of antelope. With regard to these heads, Professor Sayce remarks that they "suggest the origin of the

Greek legend of the Chimæra." Curiously enough, I this winter obtained in Lower Egypt a small bottle of brownish-green ware, being a grotesque human figure, in front of which is a seated lion, with the head and plumes of Bes. This variant was hitherto unknown to Professor R. V. Lanzone of Turin, the learned author of the "*Mitologia Egizia*," now in course of publication, and will be figured by him in the next forthcoming part of that work. On a Phœnico-Egyptian scarabæus of burnt sard in my possession, found in Egypt, is depicted a hawk-headed, seated sphinx, with the disk upon his head, and a uræus under his feet, and on a fragment of limestone sculptured on both sides, and of singularly fine work, now in the British Museum, but found in the Fayoum, and brought by me from Egypt in 1882, is a winged lion, passant, to the right, with the head and plumes of the same deity. Could this fragment have been identified as having been found in the Delta, it might have been supposed to have belonged to the period of the Shepherd Kings, and the combination ascribed to semi-Semitic influence, but I am not aware that the sway of the Hyksos extended to the isolated province of the Fayoum. Anyhow, it is interesting to compare the subject of the earthenware bottle, the gem, and the sculptured fragment, with that of the present stone. This gem has had a small hole drilled through it, close to the tail of the sphinx, by some possessor, who wished by that means to fit it for suspension.

No. 2. From Nazareth. (See plate.)—This gem, cut in intaglio in dark sard, is set in a modern gold ring of Oriental workmanship, and is of even finer work than the stone last described, and a most beautiful example of Egypto-Phœnician art. On it is a winged sphinx, seated, whose human head wears the Egyptian head-dress. Below this is a scarabæus, whose expanded wings stretch completely across the stone. Below this again, supported by uræi, is an ornamental cartouche, of which Professor Sayce remarks, "the hieroglyphics consist of the Egyptian *Neb*, 'Lord,' turned upside down, followed by the Hittite  'country,' twice repeated, and turned upside down." It may have been the signet of a Phœnician prince.

No. 3. Found at Amrît (*Marathus*). (See plate.)—This scarabæoid of hard yellowish-brown limestone is pronounced by Professor Sayce to be a very interesting example of Egypto-Phœnician work. It was formerly in the possession of the late well-known M. Perétié of Beyrût, whose large collection of Egypto-Phœnician amulets, scarabs, and scarabæoids fell into my hands after the death of their proprietor. Most of these objects are formed from steatite, but some, like the present specimen, are of harder stone. Their large number, upwards of three hundred, testify to a school of craftsmen for ornaments of this description having existed in early times, at least as early as Thothmes III, of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty (*circa* 1600 B.C.), at Umrît.

The centre of this stone is occupied by the figure of a king, between two palm-branches, a characteristic and favourite emblem upon the Phœnician coast. The monarch, whose name seems to have been *Ah-nub*,

or, according to another possible reading, *Ah-men*, wears the *Pschent*, or combined crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, copied from Egyptian monuments, and is in the act of adoring the lunar disk "*Ah*." On either side the king is a cartouche, "each of which," says Professor Sayce, "contains the lunar disk *Ah*, and the character *Men*, each twice repeated and turned upside down. The work of this stone is distinctly Phœnician, and though the dress and attributes are Egyptian, the figure evidently represents a king of Phœnicia.

No. 4. Found at Beyrût. (See plate.)—This lentoid gem of white crystal is the most remarkable stone in the collection, and has been found very difficult to interpret. It has for its device three stars, of which the upper one is winged. Below these, and divided from them by two lines, is an early Phœnician inscription, written from right to left **𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤁** (ישעא),

i.e., *Yesha-ā*, from the root *Yēsha*, to save. Professor Sayce considers the characters to be of the seventh or eighth century, B.C., and certainly not later; in which case this gem is one of the earliest known, and he adds that "the two lines which divide the name from the stars and winged solar disk [for so he deciphers the winged star] explain the origin of the similar names which divide in half the inscriptions on early Hebrew seals." With regard to the translation of the inscription, I have permission to insert in this place two communications with which I have been favoured by Professor Robertson Smith.

"The seal reads **𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤁**, ישעא. The root **ישע**, is not Aramaic, and so the **𐤏** cannot be the Aramaic article. The explanation must be sought within the Hebrew-Phœnician language.

"This being so, the analogies which naturally present themselves are those of such Phœnician proper names as **𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤁**, עבדא פתחא, in which the termination **𐤏** appears to mark that the name has been shortened at the end. Thus *Kalbā* is the same name as *Kalbēlīm* (*Corp. Inscr. Sem.* Fasc. i, No. 52), *Hanno* (with *ō* for *ā* as a later pronunciation) is the shortened form of *Hannibal* or some such longer name, *Pathha* corresponds to a heathen counterpart of *Pethahia*, and so on.

"The Hebrews themselves have similar contractions of proper names, and had them at an early date, as appears from the form **עֲזַיָּה** = *Uzziah* or *Azariah* in 2 Samuel vi, 3. Thus if the seal were Hebrew, the name on it would be the short form answering to **ישעיהו**, *Isaiah*. The winged star seems, however, rather to point to a heathen owner, and in this case the last member lopped off will not be the name *Jahveh*, but some other divine name, as in the Phœnician instances already quoted, and the name means 'the victory or salvation of' *Baal*, or whoever the god is.

"Quite similar is the Philistine name *Sidkā*, King of *Ascalon*, on the inscriptions of *Sennacherib*. **ישע** without the **𐤏**, appears as a proper name on a gem figured by *Levy*, *Phönizische Studien*, ii, No. 8a of the plate."

No. 5. Found at Konia, in Asia Minor. (See plate.)—This large scarabæoid gem, perforated lengthways for suspension, is formed of beautifully iridescent rock crystal. Upon it is represented the four-winged Assyro-Babylonian god Merodach, who, although the stone is slightly damaged, Professor Sayce considers is strangling in either hand the bird-demons. "This device," the Professor adds, "passed through Phœnicia to early Greece. Below Merodach, from which it is divided by double horizontal lines, is a bird, perhaps an eagle, on either side, divided by two vertical lines, the Egyptian symbol *Ankh*, the sign of life.

No. 7. Found at Beyrût.—A pierced scarabæoid. On it is a winged sphinx, with antelope's head, standing. Behind, a winged deity. This specimen is in poor preservation, but is remarkable on account of its material, which is malachite, a substance very rarely used by the ancients. Phœnician work.

No. 8. Found near Beyrût.—Scarabæoid of opaque white chalcedony. On it a bull, in front an amulet, perhaps intended to represent the solar disk. Good Græco-Phœnician work.

No. 9. From Beyrût.—Small scarabæoid of pale blue opaque chalcedony. On it a lotus flower; on either side, and facing it, a vulture with expanded wings. Beneath these a striated band. Below this a star, upon either side of which is a winged uræus, and again below, a scarab with expanded wings. Phœnician work.

No. 10. Coast of Syria. From the collection of M. Perétié. (See plate.)—This is a bead of white opaque gypsum. It bears an inscription of eight letters, the meaning of which has hitherto defied elucidation. Professors Wright, Robertson Smith, and Sayce are alike unable to interpret it, but the latter thinks it may be of Gnostic origin.

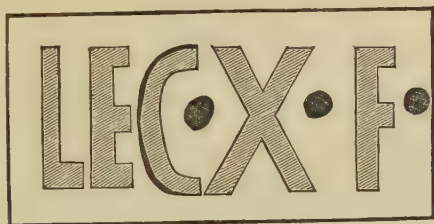
NOTES BY SELAH MERRILL, D.D., LL.D.

I.

A RELIC OF THE TENTH LEGION, CALLED "FRETENSIS."

I NOTICE in the list of antiquities in the possession of the Palestine Fund, that they have two imperfect specimens of tiles bearing the stamp of the Tenth Legion, and it may be of sufficient interest to state that I possess a perfect specimen, which I bought of some fellahîn who had just dug it from its hiding place. The following are the dimensions of the tile; $7\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. The oblong place for the letters is sunk into the tile, leaving the letters in relief, the surface of the letters

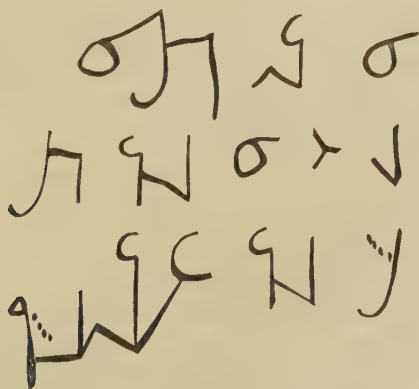
being of the same level as the surface of the tile. The oblong place itself is 4 inches long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. The length of the letters is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.



II.

THE INSCRIPTION AT ARAK EL EMIR.

EVERY copyist, if he labours conscientiously, has reason to respect his own work until he is convinced that he is in error. I visited the place in question several times, and copied the inscription with care. My copy is quite unlike that which Captain Conder ascribes to Levy (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1885, p. 12), and unlike that which Captain Conder gives as his own (*ibid.*), inasmuch as mine has a decided bar extending from the top towards the right as in the initial letter of the following inscription from Bozrah:—



In the first and second lines a letter occurs three times which is identical with the first letter in the Arak el Emir inscription. This letter I would read *Aleph*, and would transliterate the above inscription—

אמתא
לגאברת
--בר-מ--

This is one of a number of Nabathean inscriptions which I copied while at work in the Hauran, but I have never had time to classify them or to give them much study.

I have for years felt that there were a larger number of Nabathean inscriptions to be gathered in the desert east of the Jordan than scholars imagined, and that when these have been collected, materials will exist for a better understanding and a fuller knowledge of that once powerful and interesting people.

I make no attempt to translate the Arak el Emir inscription, but when I visit the place again I will take pains to re-copy it, or to take an impression of the letters.

III.

THE STATIONS OF DAVID'S CENSUS OFFICERS.

THE account of the numbering of the Israelites by David contains some interesting geographical notices, two of which, at least, have always been puzzles to scholars. It will be a help to remember that only Israel and Judah were to be numbered (see 2 Sam. xxiv, 1). The command was, "Go now through all the tribes of Israel, from Dan even to Beersheba," and leads us to suppose that aliens and subject peoples, whether within or without the limits of the kingdom, were not to be reckoned in the census of the Jewish people themselves. This is confirmed by verse 9, where the sum of the men of Israel and Judah only is given.

King David's officers crossed the Jordan and pitched first in Aroer near Jazer. They went thence to Gilead. Their third camping place was "the land of Tahtim Hodshi," their fourth camping place was Dan Jaan, and their fifth was Sidon. They went thence to the "stronghold of Tyre," and thus southward to Beersheba, keeping within the limits of the territory as defined in verse 2. The Hebrew of verse 6 is as follows :—"And they came to Gilead, ואל־ארץ תחתים חדשי, and they came דנה יצן." The Septuagint renders verse 6—"And they came to Galaad, and into the land of Thabason which is Adasi, and they came to Dan Idan and Udan, and compassed Sidon." The Targum on Samuel has after Gilead, דרומא חדשי

וּלְאֶרְצָא, that is, "and to the district south of Hodshi." Eusebius has, Ἀμειδδα ἡ Ἀδασαι, and Jerome, "Æthon Adasai pro quo Symmachus posuit inferiorem viam."

Numerous suggestions have been made in explanation of the words Tahtim Hodshi. The Septuagint regarded them as two names belonging to one place. Zunz, whose high rank among Jewish scholars all admit, regards them as two distinct places. Boettcher resolves the word Tahtim, תַּחְתִּים, into תַּחַת ים, below the sea. Fuerst is inclined, I judge, to favour this change, which is true of some other scholars. In that case ים would refer to the Sea of Galilee (compare Numb. xxxiv, 2; Josh. xii, 3; viii, 27), and Hodshi would have some connection with Chinnereth. Besides these hints there should be mentioned an important Hebrew tradition, found in the Midrash on Samuel, chapters xxx and xxxii, which connects Tahtim Hodshi with Beth Yereh.

There were two places, Tarichea and Sennabris, which Josephus locate at the southern end of the Lake of Tiberias, and both are extremely distant from the City of Tiberias, namely, thirty furlongs ("Life," xxxii; "Wars," III, ix, 7). Josephus states that the great plain of the Jordan commenced at Ginnabrin [Sennabris] ("Wars," IV, viii, 2); while the Talmud states that the Jordan did not receive that name until after it left Beth Yereh (בֵּית יֶרֶח, Talmud Bab. Bechorot, 55a). It would seem that the point where the plain of the Jordan commenced (according to Josephus), and the point where the river Jordan began to receive that specific name (according to the Talmud) were practically identical. But, further, the Jerusalem Talmud mentions Beth Yereh and Sennabris together as the names of two towers, שְׁנֵי אֲבִטְלוֹת, or fortified places on the Lake of Gennesareth (Megillah, i, 1, Gemara). This passage might be rendered, "The . . . was divided into two parts like Beth Yereh and Sennabris." The Aruch explains the words שְׁנֵי אֲבִטְלוֹת (אֲבִטְלוֹת for אֲבִטְנוֹת) as meaning "two castles in a place where there is a bridge for water, but there is no water between them." There can be little doubt, I think, that the Beth Yereh of the Talmud is the Tarichea of Josephus, of which the modern representative is *Kerak*. This place has long since been identified as Tarichea, and a knowledge of the nature of the ground compared with Josephus's detailed description of it makes such a conclusion almost if not absolutely certain.

It is difficult to decide whether Tarichea, Beth Yereh, or Yereh was the original form of the name, or whether the place bore two names, as was not unfrequently the case. The Hebrew name might have been written בֵּית־תִּירָה or בֵּית־יֶרֶח, and this would easily come to be written בֵּית־יֶרֶח. The name Tarichea is also a good Greek word meaning salting-station, from *ταριχεω*, which has reference to preserving bodies by artificial means, whether salting fish or embalming mummies. The name is thus supposed to be derived from the business of preserving fish which was carried on at this place (compare Strabo, xvi, 2, 45).

The long bluff at the extreme south-west corner of the Lake of Tiberias, which is called at present *Kerak*, was originally connected with

the mainland by a dry bridge or causeway. On the mainland at or near the end of this bridge we suppose that the place called Sennabris should be located. These suggestions, if valid, would illustrate and confirm both Josephus and the Jewish writings. The statement of the Aruch, for instance, made probable without any knowledge on the part of the writer of the ground at the south end of the Lake, could not have been more accurate than it is, and Josephus also would be correct in stating the distance of Tarichea and Sennabris from Tiberias to be the same and in the same direction.

I have several times had occasion to speak of the Jordan Valley on the east of the river, from the Lake of Tiberias as far south as the Zerka or Jabbok, as being exceedingly fertile because of the numerous mountain streams which water it. The first stream below the Lake is the Yarmuk, or Hieromax, called at present the *Menadireh*. It is an interesting fact that the region along this river, after it leaves the hills, is called *Ard el 'Adasiyeh*, عَدْسِيَّة. The *Menadireh* is, in that portion of it, called *Wâdy 'Adasiyeh*. At the point where the road approaches the river in order to enter the mountains there is a ruin of considerable size, which bears the common name of *Ed Deir*, and the portion of the valley of plain immediately north of it is called the Plain of Dueir. Still farther to the north, and but a short distance from the mountains, are the "hills of the foxes." On the shore of the Lake are the ruins of Semakh, and to the north-east is the place known as *Khurbet es Sumrah*. Down the valley to the south, a short distance from Ed Deir, and near the *Menadireh*, is a fountain and a ruin called Yagana (Yagana, Yag'na, or Yak'na, ياقانا, or يقنة). Since the letter *Heth* readily interchanges with *Ayin*, may it not be possible that 'Adasiyeh represents the ancient Hodshi?

In my judgment there was a very natural reason why the census-takers should visit the broad and fertile valley which stretches to the south from the lower end of the Sea of Galilee. They had completed their work in Gilead, and were on their way northward towards Sidon and its vicinity. As only Israel and Judah were to be numbered the region of Damascus would not be visited, but that just below the Sea of Galilee would be on their direct route as they went north. This was the meeting place of two great thoroughfares between the country on the east and that on the west of the Jordan, even as it is to-day. The road from Beisan to Damascus, which crosses the Jordan by the *Jisr Mejamia*, and the road from Tiberias to the Hauran and Gilead (formerly a fine bridge supported on ten arches, led over the Jordan just below the Lake), intersect on this plain now called *Ard el 'Adasiyeh*. If any point on their route, as the officers were going from Gilead northward, was suitable for a place of public assembly, none more suitable than this could have been chosen. Their object was not to get into a large city, but to pitch their camp in the place that was most central and most easily accessible for the largest number of the inhabitants.

One of the truest remarks ever made in the long discussion as to the site of the Holy Sepulchre was that of Lieutenant Conder, namely, that "Fortifications" (referring to the line of the walls) "follow the hills and not the valleys." Again, with regard to the site of Capernaum I have often urged, in opposition to those who advocate the claims of Tell Hum, the unreasonableness of supposing that a custom house would be located at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the main route of travel, which it was designed to accommodate. In like manner in endeavouring to trace the route of David's census-takers is it unfair to claim that the most natural suppositions should receive the first consideration? It is on this principle that attention is now called to the district or Plain of 'Adasiyeh below the Sea of Galilee. Similarly the region about Aroer near Jazer (I locate Jazer at *Khurbet Sar*) has been the battle ground and the meeting place of the tribes living in that section of the country for generations, and why may it not always have been so?

If the census-takers chose for their work the most central and convenient points, we should expect one near Lake Merom. Dan, if it were chosen, would accommodate all the people residing north of the Sea of Galilee, and south of Mount Hermon. The great road from Damascus to the sea coast divided at Dan into two branches, one following the present route by Shukif to Sidon, and the other, that farther south, past Hunin to Tyre.

If Dan stood alone in the text there would never have been a doubt that one of the census stations was near this ancient and well-known site. But having the word Jaan with Dan has seemed to make the matter of identification a difficult one. We must remember that we are dealing with a Hebrew record of a very early date, when Phœnician influence was especially strong in the north of Palestine. Baniās, the modern name found in this region, is commonly thought to be a corruption of Panias or Paneas, which commemorated the worship of the god Pan in this once famous grotto. But Baniās is probably a corruption of a much older name, Balinas, composed of two Phœnician words, Bal and Jaan, or Yaan.

I notice in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," Vol. VII, Part 3, page 394, an attempt to identify Thatim Hodshi with Kadesh on the Orontes, which seems to me to be wholly without foundation. Why should the census-takers go more than 100 miles north of Palestine when they were directed to confine themselves to numbering the tribes of Israel within their several tribal territories?

A NOTE ON GOLGOTHA.

I have noticed latterly a good deal of discussion as to the site of Calvary, and that modern writers incline to place it north-west of Jerusalem. I have never been in Palestine, so can be no judge from the country of the fitness of their ideas. But I should like to make some suggestions arising from study of the Gospel narratives.

We read that Joseph of Arimathæa went in boldly to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. Evidently then it was not customary for the bodies of crucified criminals to be given up to their friends; or Mary and His apostles would have taken His body as a matter of course. Joseph was an influential and rich man—he got it; but even he had to go to headquarters, and make special request for it. How about the bodies of the two thieves? What would be done with them?

Two others were crucified with Him—on either side one, and Jesus in the midst. Plainly then it was an ordinary execution, and would take place at the ordinary spot. In the valley of the son of Hinnom was Tophet, where fires were kept always burning to consume the filth and refuse of the city; dead animals and the “bodies of criminals” were thrown therein. This valley debouches into the Cedron valley, wherein Jews so desire to be buried.

We read that many of the women who had followed Jesus and had ministered to Him, stood afar off beholding. They must have had some eminence on which to stand or they would not “from afar off” have been able to behold; the crowd would have hidden Him. This coign of vantage the Mount of Offence, or the Hill of Evil Council, would supply. As Antonia (and the Hall of Judgment) was at the north-west corner of the Temple hill, they would only have to bring Him down by the Temple precincts—always guarded—and a very short distance would bring them “without” the gates; for we are very sure the accursed valley of the son of Hinnom would never be enclosed within the Holy City by any wall. Neither does it seem at all likely that the spot for the infliction of the accursed death of crucifixion should be chosen near the place where were the tombs of kings and prophets. Does it not then seem that the most likely spot to fulfil all the Scripture requirements for the crucifixion is near the junction of the valley of Hinnom with that of the Cedron? There would be Tophet on the one hand, and the place of honourable burial close by on the other.

It is plain that Jesus was laid in an open space; for as the women came hurrying up, one is bidden by one angel to look in and see the place where the Lord lay; does so, and sees a second angel seated on the right side; whilst another woman standing on the outside stoops down to look in, and sees two angels within, sitting one at the head the other at the foot of the place where the body of Jesus had lain. There was space enough for Peter and John to walk in, and see where the grave-clothes lay, and the napkin which had bound the head lying apart.

Then as for the "mound bearing some resemblance to a skull." When we consider the earthquakes, the battles, the sieges, which so changed and destroyed the ancient features of the land, we need not lay much stress upon this: such resemblances are common in rocky countries. Within half a mile of the spot where I write is a sharp cliff which from three different points bears a faithful likeness of three men known to me, and extremely unlike each other. Any very wet early winter, followed quickly by severe frost, might bring down a portion of this cliff and utterly destroy all these faces.

The last argument for the north-west site, viz., the shorter length of streets to be passed through, is entirely set aside by supposing our Lord to be led along the Temple precincts to the south side, and so to the valley of the son of Hinnom.

GIRDLER WORRALL.

THE SAMARITAN TEMPLE.

CAPTAIN CONDER seems to think that no dependence is to be placed upon the precise statement of Josephus that there was a Temple on Mount Gerizim, unless a corroboration of his assertion can be furnished from another source.

I do not gather that he is prepared with any evidence actually contradicting Josephus, and until such is forthcoming may we not justifiably believe him, especially as he refers to the said Temple, not merely in the long passage to which reference is given by C. R. C. ("Ant.," XI, viii, 2-7), but also in "Ant.," XII, v, § 5, where he quotes a letter from the Samaritans to Antiochus asking permission for their Temple, which before had no name, to be called "the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius," and again in "Ant.," XIII, iii, § 4, in which he gives an account of the disputation before Ptolemy respecting the two Temples, viz., at Gerizim and at Jerusalem!

If there was no Temple at Gerizim, he must have fabricated a good deal more of his history than the assertion about its being built by Sanballat, of whom he records that "*he was then in years*" ("Ant.," XI, viii, § 2).

H. B. S. W.

March 23rd, 1885.

BETH HABBECHEREH, OR THE CHOSEN HOUSE—

continued.

CHAPTER V.

1. THE mountain of the house, which was Mount Moriah, was five hundred cubits by five hundred cubits, and it was surrounded by a wall.¹ And arches were built upon arches beneath it, because of the tent of defilement.² And it was all roofed over, cloister within cloister.³

2. And there were five gates to it; one on the west, and one on the east, and one on the north, and two on the south.⁴ The breadth of each gate was ten cubits and its height twenty. And there were doors to them.⁵

3. Inside of it, a reticulated wall [*called soreg*] went all round. Its height was ten handbreadths,⁶ and inside of the *soreg* the rampart⁷ ten

¹ Middoth ii, 1, and i, 1.

² Parah iii, 3. "The mountain of the house and the courts were hollow underneath because of קבר הטהום, the grave of the abyss," i.e., lest there should be a hidden grave beneath.

³ Pesachim i, 5. "Rabbi Judah said two cakes of a thank-offering which had become defiled were put upon the roof of the porch, ע"ל נב האיטבא," and Rashi remarks that this porch was a סטיו = *στωα*, *cloister*, which was "in the mountain of the house where the people assembled and sat." The Gemara upon the same passage (Pesach. 13 *b*) says "Rabbi Judah said that the mountain of the house was a double cloister . . . which was called אסטונית, a porch, a cloister within a cloister," and here Rashi adds that it was furnished with a roof to protect the people from the rain, and that the porch, איטבא, went all round, סביב סביב מקפת, and had another inside it. In Pesach. 52 *b*, and Berachoth 33 *b*, this remark of Rabbi Judah is again noted, and in the former place Rashi explains that "double porches, איטבאות, were all round the mountain of the house one within the other." In Succah iv, 4, it is stated that the elders arranged the palm-branches of the people at the Feast of Tabernacles "upon the top of the porch," and here again the gloss of Rashi adds that the breadth, רחבה, of the mountain of the house was surrounded by covered cloisters." These cloisters and their roof are again mentioned in Succah 44 *b* and 45 *a*. According to the Talmud, therefore, a roofed double cloister extended all round the mountain of the house, but for the statement of Maimonides that the whole enclosure was roofed over (if that be the meaning of מורה כולו היה מקורה) I find no authority in the Talmud.

⁴ Middoth i, 1, 3.

⁵ Middoth ii, 3.

⁶ This reticulated wall (סורג, *soreg*) is mentioned in Middoth ii, 3. The gloss of R. Shemaiah says "it was made of carved pieces of wood, מקליות עצים, intertwined one upon the other obliquely as they weave bedsteads." Rashi in Yoma 16 *a* says the *soreg* was "a partition made with many holes in it like a bedstead woven with cords, and was constructed of long and short pieces of wood called a lattice placed one upon another obliquely" (cf. Bartenora). I do not know that it is anywhere stated in the text of the Talmud whether the *soreg* was of stone or of wood.

⁷ חיל, *chel*. The word (גיבהו, its height) is placed between brackets, and is perhaps an interpolation of the transcribers. That the *chel* was a space and not

cubits (in height). It is this which is spoken of in the Lamentations (ii, 8), "He made the rampart and the wall to lament;" that is the wall of the court.

4. Within the *chel* was the court, and the whole court was one hundred and eighty-seven cubits long by one hundred and thirty-five broad.⁸ And it had seven gates, three on the north, near to the west, and three on the south near to the west, and one on the east,⁹ set opposite the Holy of Holies in the middle.¹⁰

5. Each of these gates was ten cubits broad, and twenty cubits high, and they had doors covered with gold, except the eastern gate, which was

a wall is proved by several passages in the Talmud. In Sanhedrim 88 *b*, it is said "on sabbaths and feast days they (the members of the court) sat in the *chel*." Rashi adds "because the people were many and the place in the chamber too narrow for them." Pesachim 64 *b*, notes that "the first company (bringing their lambs at the Passover) remained in the mountain of the house, and the second in the *chel*," and here Rashi has the important note that it was "within the soreg, between the soreg and the wall of the court of the women, where the mountain began to rise." Baal Aruch says the *chel* was a place surrounding the wall between the mountain of the house and the court of the women, and that there was a great divinity school, מדרש גדול, in it.

In Kelim 5 *b*, we read "the *chel* was more sacred than the mountain of the house, because idolaters and those defiled by the dead might not enter there." Not improbably there was a rampart, perhaps with an escarp at the inner side of the open space, and joined to the wall of the courts, and to this the door of the house Moked opened (Midd. i, 7). The remark of Baal Aruch "that the *chel* was a wall higher than the soreg" would in this case be intelligible, and it may have been such a wall which some have supposed to have been ten cubits in height.

R. Lipsitz thinks that four cubits of the *chel* were level, and the remaining six on the rising ground, and that those six cubits were occupied by the steps up to the court, which steps he holds to have extended all round the house for the people to sit upon, and he founds this opinion upon the passages in Pesachim (13 *b*, 52 *b*) above quoted, and the gloss of Rashi. This learned Rabbi also holds that these steps and all the mountain of the house outside of the inner wall (the wall of the courts) were roofed over, and that probably seats were placed on the level ground outside the soreg (Mishnaoth, vol. v, 311 *b*, Warsaw 1864). Rashi, in Yoma 16 *a*, remarks that the twelve steps leading from the *chel* to the court of the women were באותן יאמות "in those ten cubits" which formed the breadth of the *chel*, because the mountain rose from the Soreg to the court of the women six cubits, and he farther adds, in reference to these steps, that "in breadth each step was half a cubit, and in length extended, מושך, along the whole breadth of the mountain from north to south." Of the *chel* he says that it was "a vacant place of ten cubits."

⁸ Middoth v, 1, 2, 6.

⁹ Middoth i, 4: cf. *ib.* ii, 6, and Shekalim i, 3.

¹⁰ Berachoth ix, 5. "A man may not raise his head lightly (*i.e.*, indulge in levity) opposite the eastern gate, because that is set opposite the Holy of Holies."

covered with brass resembling gold, and that gate was what was called the upper gate, and it was the gate Nicanor.¹¹

6. The court was not set in the middle of the mountain of the house, but its distance from the south of the mountain of the house was greater than that from all *the other* sides, and its nearness to the west greater than that to all *the other* sides. And the space between it and the north was greater than that between it and the west, and *that* between it and the east greater than that which was between it and the north.¹²

7. And before the court on the east was the court of the women, which was one hundred and thirty-five cubits long by one hundred and thirty-five cubits broad. And at its four corners were four chambers of forty cubits by forty, and they were not roofed, and thus they will be in the future.

8. And what was their use? The south-eastern chamber *was* the chamber of the Nazarites, because there they cooked their peace-offerings and shaved off their hair (Num. vi, 18); the north-eastern was the chamber for storing wood, and there the priest who had blemishes removed the worms upon the wood, because every piece of wood in which there was a worm was unlawful *for the altar*.¹⁴ The north-western *was* the chamber of the lepers. In the south-western they put oil and wine, and it was called the chamber of the house of oil.¹⁵

9. The court of the women was surrounded by a balcony,¹⁶ in order

¹¹ Middoth ii, 3. In Succah v, 4, it is said "the two priests stood at the upper gate which led down from the court of Israel into the court of the women." That this was the gate Nicanor appears from Middoth i, 4, "the gate on the east of the court was the gate Nicanor" (*cf.* Yoma 19 a). Rashi in his note on Sotah i, 5, says "the gate of Nicanor was the upper gate, which was in the wall that was between the court of Israel and the court of the women." To this gate suspected women were brought to drink the bitter waters of jealousy (Num. v.), and lepers and women after childbirth were cleansed at it (Sotah i, 5; Negaim xiv, 8). R. Shemaiah also, on Kelim 5 b, says, "the gate Nicanor was the gate of the court of Israel." In Kle Hammikdash vii, 6, Maimonides remarks, "the upper gate was the gate Nicanor. And why was it called the upper gate? Because it was above the court of the women."

¹² Middoth ii, 1. The Tosefoth Yom Tob gives the following measurements of the several spaces:—

		Cubits.			Cubits.
Northern space	..	115	Eastern space	..	213
Southern "	..	250	Western "	..	100
Court..	..	135	Court	..	287
		500			600

¹³ Middoth ii, 5.

¹⁴ For the chamber of wood, see also Shekalim vi, 2.

¹⁵ Middoth ii, 5.

¹⁶ מַזוּזָה, *tabulatum*; in Middoth ii, 5, it is called כַּצִּיצָרָה, *tabula, asser cui aliquid imponitur* (Buxtorf). This balcony is said by R. Shemaiah and by Bartenora to have been for the accommodation of the women during the rejoicings

that the women might see from above and the men from below, and so not be mixed. And there was a large house on the northern side of the court outside, between the court and the rampart (*chel*); it was arched and surrounded by stone benches, and it was called *Beth Hammoked*, the House Moked. There were two gates to it, one opening to the court and one opening to the *chel*.¹⁷

10. And there were four chambers in it, two holy and two profane, and pointed pieces of wood¹⁸ distinguished between the holy and the profane. And for what did they serve? The south-western *was* the chamber of the lambs,¹⁹ the south-eastern the chamber for making the shewbread, in the north-eastern the family of the Asmoneans laid up the stones of the altar which the Greek kings defiled, and in the north-western they went down to the bathing-room.

11. A person descending to the bath-room²⁰ from this chamber went by the gallery which ran under the whole Sanctuary,²¹ and the lamps at the Feast of Tabernacles, and they take this opinion from the Gamara (Succah 51 b), which explains that the erection of this balcony was part of the "great preparations" which were made on that occasion. "At first the women were within and the men without, and when they began to indulge in levity it was arranged that the women should be outside, and the men inside, and seeing that the occasion of levity still arose they arranged for the women to be above and the men below" (Gamara, *loc. cit.*). Rashi upon this passage remarks that in the court of the women there were originally no beams, גִּיּוֹן, projecting from the walls, and that afterwards they placed beams jutting from the walls all round, and every year arranged these balconies of planks, upon which the women might stand and witness the rejoicings of the Beth Hashshavah. Both Middoth and Maimonides speak of these balconies as if they were permanent.

¹⁷ Middoth i, 5, 7, 8.

¹⁸ הַתִּיכוֹת עֲצִים, *pieces of wood* (Rashi in Yoma 15 b). "Ends of beams projecting from the wall" Bartenora (*cf.* Middoth i, 6; ii, 6; iv, 5). They do not appear to have formed a partition, but only to have been a sign indicating the limits of the holy and profane parts of the house.

¹⁹ Middoth i, 6, where it is called the chamber of the lambs for the offering. In Tamid iii, 3, the chamber of the lambs is said to have been at the south-western corner, which evidently refers to its position in relation to the altar and court of the priests, and shows the position of the house Moked itself without contradicting the statement of Middoth and our author. There can hardly be a doubt that it was, as here stated, at the south-western corner of Moked, though the gloss on Tamid says it was on the north-west of that house (*cf.* Yoma 15 b, and Tosefoth Yom Tov on Tamid iii, 3).

²⁰ בֵּית הַטְּבִילָה, *domus lavaeri*, house of bathing or dipping. The bathing here practised differed from baptism in the usual modern signification of the term, inasmuch as it was not an initiatory rite, and might be repeated.

²¹ In Tamid i, 1, it is "under the Birah!" "What is Birah? Rabbah, son of Bar Chanah, said that R. Johanan said there was a place in the mountain of the house, the name of which was Birah, and Raioh Lakish said all the house was called Birah," as is said (1 Chron. xxix, 19) "and to build the palace, *birah*, for which I have made provision" (Zevach. 1C4 b). Maimonides here uses the

burned on either side until he came to the bathing-room. And there was a large fire²² there and an excellent²³ watercloset, and this was its excellence, that if he found it shut he knew there was some one inside.

12. The length of the court from east to west *was* a hundred and eighty-seven *cubits*, and these were the measurements, viz., from the western wall of the court to the wall of the temple (היכל) eleven cubits, the length of the whole temple a hundred cubits, between the porch and the altar two and twenty, the altar two and thirty, the place of the tread of the feet of the priests, which was called the court of the priests, eleven cubits, the place of the tread of the feet of Israel, which was called the court of Israel, eleven cubits.²⁴

13. The breadth of the court from north to south *was* a hundred and thirty-five *cubits*, and these were the measurements,²⁵ viz., from the north wall to the shambles eight cubits, the shambles twelve cubits and a half: and there on the side they hung up and skinned the holy sacrifices.

14. The place of the tables was eight cubits, and in it were marble tables, upon which they laid the pieces of the offerings and washed the flesh to prepare it for being boiled. These were eight tables. And by the side of the place of the tables was the place of the rings, twenty-four cubits, and there they slaughtered the holy sacrifices.

15. Between the place of the rings and the altar *was* eight cubits, and the altar two and thirty, and the sloping ascent to the altar (כבש, *Kevesh*) thirty, and between the sloping ascent and the south wall twelve cubits and a half. From the north wall of the court to the wall of the altar, which was the breadth, was sixty *cubits* and a half, and corresponding to it from the wall of the porch to the east wall of the court, which was the length seventy-six.²⁶

term מִקְדָּשׁ, *mikdash*, as synonymous with *birah*. Bartenora, in Pesachim vii, 8, and again in Tamid, remarks that "the whole of the Sanctuary was called Birah." The gallery here spoken of, מִסְבָּה, *ambitus*, *circuitus*, was subterranean, הִקְרָקַע תַּחַת (Beth Habbec. viii, 7). It opened into the profane part of the enclosure, and was consequently not holy.

²² A wood fire, מִדּוּרָה. Cf. Isaiah xxx, 33; Ezekiel xxiv, 9, 10.

²³ Lit. honourable, שֶׁל כְּבוֹד. The whole of this section is from Tamid i, 1.

²⁴ Middoth v, 1.

²⁵ Middoth v, 1.

²⁶ In Middoth v, 2, where the measurements of the court from north to south are given, a remainder of twenty-five cubits is said to have been "between the sloping ascent and the wall and the place of the pillars," and Maimonides has allotted one-half of this measurement to the former space, and one-half to the latter, the result of which is to place the central line of the altar nine cubits south of the central line of the door of the Temple and of the court. His authority for this is the Gamara of Yoma 16 b, for although R. Judah maintained (*loc. cit.* and Zevach. 58 b) that the altar "was placed in the middle of the court, and measured thirty-two cubits, ten cubits opposite the door of the Temple הִיכָל, eleven cubits to the north and eleven cubits to the south," the

16. All this quadrangle was called "north," and it was the place in which they slaughtered the most holy sacrifices.²⁷

17. There were eight²⁸ chambers in the court of Israel, three on the other rabbis disputed that opinion, bringing forward the passage in Middoth v, 2, to prove that "the greatest part of the altar lays to the south."

The following are the measurements given by the three chief authorities:—

	Middoth and Gamara of Yoma.	Maimo- nides.	Rashi.
From north wall to place of the pillars	8	8	8
Place of pillars	12½ (?)	12½	10½
From pillars to tables	4	..	4
Place of tables	..	8	4
From tables to rings	..	..	4
Place of rings	24	24	24
From rings to altar.. .. .	4	8	8
Altar	38	32	32
Sloping ascent	32	30	30
Between sloping ascent and south wall	10½ (?)	12½	10½
	135	135	135

According to Maimonides, therefore, twenty-five cubits, and according to Rashi, twenty-seven cubits of the altar were south of the central line of the court. Rashi, in his elaborate note on this subject in Yoma 16 *b*, explains that the northern side of the altar extended just as far as the northern doorpost of the central gates, and that the receding of the foundation and circuit of the altar (Midd. iii, 1) left two cubits on the northern side of the top of the lower gate (that east of the court of the women) not obstructed, and that it was through this small space the priest standing on the Mount of Olives could see into the door of the Temple (Midd. ii, 3). It will be remembered that the summit of the altar was exactly twenty cubits above the floor of the court of the women, and that consequently the aperture of the lower gate was obstructed by it to the top, except on its northern side, if Rashi's supposition as to its position is correct, and on the south of the northern horn where one cubit would be left above the altar, through which a person could see into the Temple if his eye were placed in a line with the lintel or not more than one cubit below it. As to the priest on the summit of the Mount of Olives looking through the gateway, this will appear hardly possible when it is remembered how much higher the Mount of Olives is than the Temple Hill. He must have looked *over* the eastern wall and *over* the lower gate.

²⁷ Zevachim 20 *a*.

²⁸ Middoth v, 3 and i, 4, and Yoma 19 *a*. In Yoma the chambers on the north and south are placed as Maimonides here places them, but in Middoth the chambers of salt, of Purvah, and of the washings are placed on the north, and the other three on the south.

north and three on the south. Those on the south were the chamber of salt, the chamber of Parvah,²⁹ and the chamber of washing. In the chamber of salt they put salt to the offering, in the chamber Parvah they salted the skins of the holy sacrifices, and on its roof was the bathing-room for the High Priest, on the Day of Atonement.³⁰ In the chamber of washings they washed the inwards of the holy sacrifices, and from it a winding staircase (מסיבה) ascended to the roof of the house of Parvah. And the three on the north *were* the chamber of hewn stone,³¹ the chamber of the draw-well, *and* the chamber of wood. In the chamber of hewn stone the great Sanhedrim sat, and half of it was holy and half was profane ; and it had two doors, one to the holy and one to the profane *part*, and the Sanedrim sat in the profane half. In the chamber of the draw-well³²

²⁹ R. Shemaiah on Middoth (37 *b*) says that the name Parvah was derived from פרים, *parim*, young bulls, because it was the skins of the oxen offered as sacrifices which were salted in it. Baal Aruch quotes from Yoma 35 *a*, "What is Parvah? R. Josef said Parvah was אמגושא, *amgusah*, a magician," and explains "Parvah was the name of a certain *magus*, and some of the wise men say that he dug a hollow place underground in the Sanctuary so that he might see the service of the High Priest on the Day of Atonement; that the wise men became aware of the pit which he had dug in that place, and found him, and that the chamber was called after his name." Maimonides in his comment on Middoth says "Parvah was the name of a magician who dug in the wall of the court in this chamber until he could see the service; and he was killed." Since the service of the Day of Atonement was chiefly performed on the northern side of the court, this story is a confirmation of the statement of Middoth that the chamber of Parvah was on the northern side. Bartenora, quoting Rashi (on Yoma iii, 6), remarks "a certain magician, מכשף, named Parvah, built this chamber, and it was called after his name;" and in his work on Middoth v, 3, the same writer intimates that the chamber was built by magic. Parvah was in the sacred part of the Temple enclosure (Yoma iii, 3, 6).

³⁰ Yoma iii, 3, 6.

³¹ לשכת הגזית. The chamber Gazith. The Gamara of Yoma (25 *a*) says "it was like a large basilica; the lots were on the east, the elders sat on the west," so that its long diameter appears to have been east and west. That one half of it was holy and one half profane is stated on the same page. The reason why the Sanhedrim sat in the profane half is that only kings of the House of David might sit in the court (*loc. cit.*). The Tosefot Yom Tov (Midd. v, 4) says the chamber of the draw-well was south, and the chamber of wood to the north of the chamber Gazith.

³² לשכת הגולה. Lightfoot calls it the room of the draw-well, because there was in it a wheel with which to draw water. Middoth (in some copies) speaks of the הגולה, the well of the captivity, being placed in it, and this well is said to have been dug by those who came up from the captivity, and to have given its name to the chamber (Bartenora and Tosefot Yom Tov). This well is mentioned in Erubin x, 14. "They were permitted to draw water from the well of the captivity and from the great well on the Sabbath." R. Shemaiah, in Middoth, says it had sweet water for drinking and a pipe or reservoir, אמת, of water for washing (*cf.* Jer. Yoma 41 *a*, 1). The word גולה, or more accurately

was a well from which they drew by means of a bucket,³³ and thence supplied water to the whole court. The chamber of wood³⁴ was behind these two. It was the chamber of the High Priest, and is what was called the chamber Parhedrin.³⁵ And the roof of the three was even. And there were two other chambers in the court of Israel, one on the right of the eastern gate, which was the chamber of Phinehas the vestment keeper, and one on the left, which was the chamber of the pancake maker.

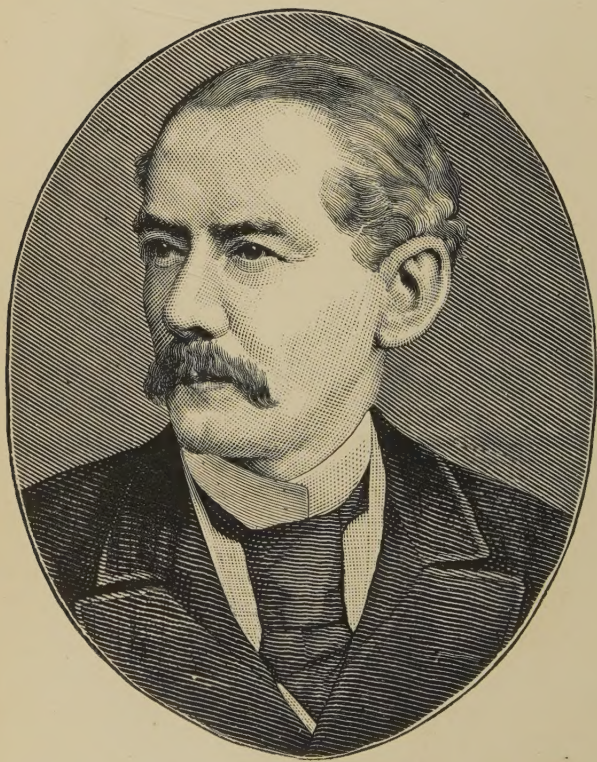
גִּלְיָה, means also a fountain or source of water (*cf.* Jud. i, 15), and inasmuch as it is taught in both Talmuds (Jerus. Yoma 41 *a*; Bab Yoma 31 *a*; Bechor 44 *b*; Shabb. 145 *b*, and the notes of Rashi, also Maim. Baith Hammikdash v, 15), that the water of the fountain Etham, עֵיטָם, was brought to the Temple, it is not certain that לִשְׁכַּת הַגִּילְיָה should not be translated "the chamber of the fountain." Solomon's molten sea is said to have been supplied from Etham, and the laver to have been filled from it. In Yoma 31 *a* it is said "the fountain of Etham was twenty-three cubits above the level of the court."

³³ גִּלְיָה is also a jug or similar vessel, *lecythus*, or "a large round basin, עֲגוֹל סֶפֶל גָּרוֹד" (Tosefoth Yom Tov to Midd. v, 4). Some kind of bucket is here signified by Maimonides, but whether it was of wood, metal, or clay it is impossible to determine. The suggestion of a modern commentator (Mishnaoth Schmid, Vienna, 1835) may here be noted "probably the בּוֹר הַגִּילְיָה was a common well with two buckets worked by a wheel, one descending into the water as the other was drawn up."

³⁴ The chamber of wood is said to have been for storing the wood fit for the altar (Tosefoth Yom Tov to Midd. v, 4; *cf.* Midd. ii, 5).

³⁵ "Seven days before the Day of Atonement they separated the High Priest from his house into the chamber Parhedrin" (Yoma i, 1). "And why the chamber Parhedrin? Was it not the chamber of the councillors? At first it was called the chamber of the councillors לִשְׁכַּת בְּלוּטֵי = *παστοφειριον των βουλευτων*, but because they began to purchase the priesthood with money and to change it every twelve months, as these assessors were changed every twelve months, therefore they called it לִשְׁכַּת פְּרָהֲדֵרִין, the chamber of the assessors" (*Ib.* 8 *b*, and the note of Rashi). "Rab Papa said there were two chambers for the High Priest; one, the chamber Parhedrin, and one the chamber of the house of Abtinah; one *being* on the north, and one on the south, *of the court* . . . I do not know whether the chamber Parhedrin was on the north and the chamber of the house of Abtinah on the south; or the chamber of the house of Abtinah on the north, and the chamber Parhedrin on the south, but we are of opinion that the chamber Parhedrin was on the south" (Yoma 19 *a*).

(To be continued).



COL. SIR CHARLES W. WILSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., LL.D., F.R.S., R.E.